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A

COLLECTION

OF THE

LETTERS

OF

ATTICUS, LUCIUS, JUNIUS,

AND OTHERS,

With OBSERVATIONS and NOTES.

A NEW EDITION.

Continued to the End of NOVEMBER 1769.

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A COLLECTION of INTERESTING PAPERS.

Being an APPENDIX, &c.

LETTER I.

From ATTICUS, *on the Situation of public Affairs.*

Auguſt, 1768.

THE greateſt part of my property having been inveſted in the funds, I could not help paying ſome attention to rumours or events, by which my fortune might be affected: yet I never lay in wait to take advantage of a ſudden fluctuation, much leſs would I make myſelf a bubble to bulls and bears, or a dupe to the pernicious arts practiſed in the alley. I thought a prudent man, who had any thing to loſe, and really meant to do the beſt for himſelf and his family, ought to conſider of the ſtate of things at large, of the proſpect before him, and the probability of particular events. A letter which appeared ſome days ago in the public papers, revived many ſerious reflections of this ſort in my mind, becauſe it ſeemed to be written with candour and judgment.

The effect of thoſe reflections was, that I did not heſitate to alter the ſituation of my property. I owe my thanks to that writer, that I am ſafely *landed* from a troubled ocean of fear and anxiety, on which I think I never will venture my fortune and my happineſs again. Perhaps it may not be uſeleſs to individuals, to ſee the motives on which I have acted.

In the firſt place, I conſider this country as in a ſituation, the like of which it never experienced before, but which the greateſt empires have experienced in their turn. The ſucceſſes of the late war had placed us at the higheſt pinnacle of military glory. Every external circumſtance ſeemed to contribute to our proſperity; the moſt formidable of our enemies were reduced, and commerce had promiſed to increaſe with the extent of our dominion. But at this point I fear we met with our *ne plus ultra*. The greatneſs of a kingdom cannot long be ſtationary. That of Great-Britain carried in itſelf an interior principle of weakneſs and decay. While the war continued, our ſuperiority at ſea gave us an excluſive commerce with the richeſt quarters of the world, and ſupplied us with wealth to ſupport ſuch efforts as no nation ever made before. But when the concluſion of peace had reſtored our rivals to the enjoyment of their former trade, the very efforts which had maintained the war, rendered it impoſſible for us to meet

thoſe

thoſe rivals upon equal terms in foreign markets. The national debt had riſen to a point ſo far beyond the reach of œconomical ſpeculations, that the diminution of the principal almoſt ceaſed to be a queſtion, and the miniſtry found difficulty enough in providing funds for payment of the intereſt. Here then we find an interior principle of decay, the operation of which is not leſs certain than fatal. The increaſe of your debt requires a proportionate increaſe of trade, at the ſame time that it not only prevents that increaſe, but operates in the contrary direction. A news-paper will not admit of ſuch a deduction, or I would undertake to demonſtrate, that all the profitable part of our foreign trade is loſt, and that, in what remains, the balance is conſiderably againſt us. But the fact is notorious. The ſituation of our Eaſt-India Trade is ſo far altered for the better, that we do not ſend ſuch quantities of bullion as heretofore to China, and indeed we have it not to ſend. Yet the reſources of this trade are, at the beſt but precarious: nor is the balance of it even now clearly in our favour. A ſingle defeat in India (an event not quite out of the limits of poſſibility) would go near to annihilate the company. But it was in the colonies that our beſt and ſureſt hopes were founded. Their extenſive commerce would have ſupported our home manufactures, when other markets failed, and rewarded us

in ſome meaſure for that ſecurity and extent of dominion, which the blood and treaſure of this country had purchaſed for them. Here too our moſt reaſonable expectations are diſappointed. Not only the merchant who gives credit on the ſecurity of perſonal good faith, is ruined by it, but, in a public view, the ſum of the debts of individuals is held out *in terrorem* to awe us into a compliance with pretenſions, which ſhake the foundation of our political exiſtence. We ſhall be woefully deceived if we form our calculations of the real ſtate of trade, on the large commiſſions, long credit, or extenſive enterprizes of particular merchants. The commercial proſperity of a nation depends upon the certainty of the return, not on the magnitude of the venture. As things are now managed in the city, the greateſt houſe falls firſt, and draws with it the ruin of a multitude of little ones. Next to the parties immediately concerned, the public creditors will be the firſt to feel the conſequences of this ruinous ſyſtem. The funds allotted for their ſecurity, depend chiefly upon the produce of the cuſtoms; theſe depend upon your trade, and it requires no prophet to foretell, that a falſe and ruinous ſyſtem of trade cannot long be maintained. It begins with private beggary, and ends in public ruin. I do not pretend to ſay that the land-holder will be quite at his eaſe, when public credit is ſhaken. But his at leaſt is a ſolid ſecurity;

the

the other a mere bubble, which the firſt rude breath of ill-fortune or of danger may reduce to nothing.

I wiſh it could be proved, that any one circumſtance in this repreſentation is falſe or exaggerated. On the other hand, if it be true, the concealment, of a moment more or leſs, ſignifies nothing. It is agreed on all hands, that we are in no condition to meet a war. Our enemies know and preſume upon it. The experience of many centuries ſufficiently proves, that their natural reſtleſſneſs will not long permit them to obſerve the conditions of any peace. At preſent they have other additional motives to draw them into action. The articles of the laſt peace diſhonoured them in the eyes of Europe. Neceſſity alone compelled them to ſubmit to it. As long as the neceſſity ſubſiſts, the peace will be maintained. In the mean time, they hazard ſuch ſtrokes as would be a juſt foundation of a war, if we had ſtrength or ſpirit to renew it. Dunkirk remains undemoliſhed, and Corſica is added to the dominion of France. They know the miſerable ſtate of our finances, the diſtraction and weakneſs of our government, and above all, the alarming differences which threaten a rupture with our colonies. To ſuppoſe that they will not take advantage of theſe circumſtances, is ſuppoſing that a few years have changed the ſtamina of a French conſtitution. On the other hand, to ſay that they

they are as little in a condition to make war as ourſelves is meer trifling. Their enterprizes prove the contrary. Their finances are upon a much better footing than ours, and at the worſt, they have a remedy, which a Britiſh parliament will never make uſe of, but in the laſt extremity. The French apply it without ſcruple, and, as far as I can obſerve without any bad effect to themſelves. In ſhort, they conſider our weakneſs more than their own ſtrength, in adherence to their old policy, *que la foibleſſe de l'ennemi fait notre propre force.*

A prudent man, whoſe property is in the funds, would do well to conſider the truth of this repreſentation. What ſecurity has he, when the ſlighteſt rumour of bad news from America robs him of four or five per cent. upon his capital, when worſe news from that quarter is expected every hour, and when the expectation of a foreign war is founded on facts and reaſoning, ſtrong enough to conſtitute the cleareſt moral certainty? To ſay that public credit has hitherto paſſed ſafely through the fiery trial of war and rebellion, proves nothing. No concluſion can be drawn from a debt of forty-ſix millions, at which it ſtood in 1740, to the preſent debt of one hundred and forty millions. At that time our reſources were hardly known, now they are known and exhauſted. We are arrived at that point when new taxes either produce nothing, or defeat the

the old ones, and when new duties only operate as a prohibition: yet theſe are the times when every ignorant boy thinks himſelf fit to be a miniſter. Inſtead of attendance to objects of national importance, our worthy governors are contented to divide their time between private pleaſures and miniſterial intrigues. Their activity is juſt equal to the perſecution of a priſoner in the king's-bench, and to the honourable ſtruggle of providing for their dependants. If there be a good man in the king's ſervice they diſmiſs him of courſe; and when bad news arrives, inſtead of uniting to conſider of a remedy, their time is ſpent in accuſing and reviling one another. Thus the debate concludes in ſome half miſbegotten meaſure, which is left to execute itſelf. Away they go:—one retires to his country-houſe; another is engaged at a horſe-race; a third has an appointment with a proſtitute;—and as to their country, they leave her, like a caſt off miſtreſs, to periſh under the diſeaſes they have given her.

ATTICUS.

LETTER II.

From the Same.

October, 1768.

SINCE my laſt was printed, a queſtion has been ſtated in the news-papers, which I think is incumbent upon me, as an honeſt

honeſt man, to anſwer. Admitting my repreſentation of the melancholy ſtate of this country, and of public credit to be ſtrictly true, " what good purpoſe can it anſwer to diſcover ſuch truths, and to lay our weakneſs open to the world?" One would think ſuch a queſtion hardly wanted a reply. If a real misfortune were leſſened by concealment;—if, by ſhutting our eyes to our weakneſs, we could give our enemies an opinion of our ſtrength, none but a traytor would withdraw the veil, which covered the nakedneſs of his country. But if the contrary be true; if concealment ſerves only to nouriſh and increaſe the miſchief, its concluſion is direct. A good ſubject will endeavour to rouſe the attention of his country;—he will give the alarm, and point out the danger, againſt which ſhe ought to provide. The policy of concealment is no better than the wiſdom of a prodigal, who waſtes his eſtate without reflection, and has not courage enough to examine his accounts.

In my laſt letter, I foretold the great fall of the ſtocks, which has ſince happened, and I now do not ſcruple to foretell that they muſt and will fall much lower. Yet I am not moved by the arts of ſtock-jobbers, or by temporary rumours, magnified, if not created, for particular purpoſes in the alley. Theſe artifices are directed to maintain a fluctuation not a continued fall. The principles, on which *my* reaſoning is founded are taken

taken generally from the ſtate of France and this country. When I ſee our natural ene- mies ſtrong enough not only to elude a ma- terial article of treaty, but to ſet us at defi- ance while they conquer a kingdom; and when I combine this appearance of ſtrength with their natural reſtleſſneſs, I cannot but doubt of their taking the firſt opportunity to recover their loſt honour, by a freſh declara- tion of war. On the other hand, conſider- ing the hoſtile temper of the colonies towards us, the oppreſſive weight of a monſtrous debt (to which a peace of ſix years has ſcarce given a ſenſible relief) and, above all, the miſery, weakneſs, and diſtraction of our in- terior government, I cannot have a doubt that our enemies now have, or in a very lit- tle time will have the faireſt opportunity they can wiſh for to force us into a war. The concluſion, to be drawn from theſe premiſes, is obvious. It amounts to a moral cer- tainty, and leaves no room for hope or ap- prehenſion.

To theſe, which are the moſt important circumſtances of our ſituation, may well be added the high price of labour, the decay of trade, and the ruinous ſyſtem on which it is conducted. Every minuter article conſpires againſt us. The deficiency of the civil liſt muſt be paid, and cannot be paid with leſs than ſeven hundred thouſand pounds. The India company will yield to no terms, which are not founded on an expreſs acknowledge-

ment of their excluſive property in their conqueſts in Aſia. How far their pretenſions are juſt is at leaſt a doubtful queſtion. Whether parliament will diveſt them of this property, by a mere declaratory law, is a matter of the moſt important conſideration. It would be a dreadful precedent, becauſe it would ſhake every ſecurity of private property. Yet, even if that were determined, another queſtion remains full of difficulty and danger;—that is, in what manner the public will avail themſelves of this great right, decided by nothing but a vote of parliament?

I am not affected by the rumours of the day. If the ſtocks riſe or fall upon a report of tranquility or tumult in Boſton, I am ſatisfied that it is owing to the arts and management of ſtock-jobbers. But I ſee the ſpirit which has gone abroad through the colonies, and I know what conſequences that ſpirit *muſt and will* produce. If it be determined to enforce the authority of the ligiſlature, the event will be uncertain: but if we yield to the pretenſions of America, there is no further doubt about the matter. From that moment they become an independent people, they open their trade with the reſt of the world, and England is undone.

In theſe circumſtances, calamitous as they are, I yet think the uniform direction of a great and able miniſter might do much. His earlieſt care, I am perſuaded, would be to

provide

provide a fund to ſupport the firſt alarm and expence of a rupture with France. If prepared to meet a war, he might perhaps avoid it. His next object would be to form a plan of agreement with the colonies. He would conſent to yield ſome ground to the Americans, if it were poſſible to receive a ſecurity from them, that they never would advance beyond the line then drawn upon conditions, mutually agreed on. By an equitable offer of this kind, he would certainly unite this country in the ſupport of his meaſures, and I am perſuaded he would have the reaſonable part of the Americans of his ſide.

Theſe, Sir, unfortunately for us, are views too high and important even to be thought of, while we are governed as we are. I would not deſcend to a reproachful word againſt men, whoſe perſons I hardly know: but it is impoſſible for an honeſt man to behold the circumſtances, to which a weak diſtracted a————n has reduced us, without feeling one pang at leaſt for the approaching ruin of Great Britain.

ATTICUS.

LETTER III. *From the Same.*

A Deſcription of the Adminiſtration.

October, 1768.

WE are aſſured by the advocates of the miniſtry, that while lord Shelburne

is ſecretary of ſtate, we can have no reaſon to apprehend a rupture with France or Spain. This propoſition is ſingular enough, and I believe turns upon a refinement very diſtant from the ſimplicity of common ſenſe. But, admitting it to be ſelf-evident, the concluſion is ſuch as I apprehend your correſpondent, who ſigns himſelf *A friend to public credit*, did not clearly foreſee. If Lord Shelburne's remaining in office conſtitutes a ſecurity of peace, his being ſuddenly removed muſt amount to a declaration of war. Now, the fact is, that his lordſhip's removal has been for ſome time in agitation, and is within theſe few days abſolutely determined. If I were a party-writer, the indiſcretion of the miniſterial advocates would give me as many advantages as even the wretched conduct of the miniſtry themſelves. But I write for the public, and in that view hold myſelf far above a little triumph over men, whoſe compoſitions are as weak as the cauſe they defend.

In my former letters I have given you a melancholy but a true repreſentation of the ſtate of this country. Every pacquet from America and the continent confirms it. The demonſtration of facts follows the probability of argument, and the prediction of the preſent hour is the experience of the next. If you will now permit me to offer my opinion of the great perſons, under whoſe adminiſtration we are reduced to this deplora-

ble

ble ſtate, the public will be enabled to judge whether theſe are the men moſt likely to relieve us from it. The curioſity of perſonal malice ſhall make no part of this enquiry. As public men we have a right to be acquainted with their real characters, becauſe we are intereſted in their public conduct.

When the Duke of G——n firſt entered into office, it was the faſhion of the times to ſuppoſe that young men might have wiſdom without experience. They thought ſo themſelves, and the moſt important affairs of this country were committed to the firſt trial of their abilities. His grace had honourably fleſht his maiden ſword in the field of oppoſition, and had gone through all the diſcipline of the minority with credit. He dined at Wildman's, railed at favourites, looked up to lord Chatham with aſtoniſhment, and was the declared advocate of Mr. Wilkes. It afterwards pleaſed his grace to enter into adminiſtration with his friend lord Rockingham, and, in a very little time, it pleaſed his Grace to abandon him. He then accepted of the treaſury upon terms which lord Temple had diſdained. For a ſhort time his ſubmiſſion to lord Chatham was unlimited. He could not anſwer a private letter without lord Chatham's permiſſion. I preſume he was then learning his trade, for he ſoon ſet up for himſelf. Until he declared himſelf the miniſter, his character had been but little underſtood. From that moment a ſyſtem

of

of conduct, directed by paſſion and caprice, not only reminds us that he is a young man, but a young man without ſolidity or judgment. One day he deſponds and threatens to reſign. The next, he finds his blood heated, and ſwears to his friend he is determined to go on. In his public meaſures we have ſeen no proof either of ability or conſiſtence. The Stamp-act had been repealed (no matter how unwiſely) under the preceeding adminiſtration. The colonies had reaſon to triumph, and were returning to their good humour. The point was decided, when this young man thought proper to revive it. Without either plan or neceſſity, he adopts the ſpirit of Mr. Grenville's meaſures, and renews the queſtion of taxation in a form more odious and leſs effectual than that of the law, which had been repealed.

With reſpect to the invaſion of Corſica, it will be matter of parliamentary enquiry, whether he has carried on a ſecret negociation with the French court, in terms contradictory to the reſolution of council, and to the inſtructions drawn up thereupon by his Majeſty's ſecretary of ſtate *. If it ſhall appear that he has quitted the line of his department to betray the honour and ſecurity of his country, and if there be a power ſuf-

* A motion which tended to an enquiry of this kind was made in the H—— of C——ns by H—— S——, Eſq; but the *uninfluenced*, *unplaced unpenſioned majority*, thought proper to put a *negative* upon it.

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ficient to protect him, in such a case, against public justice, the constitution of Great-Britain is at an end.

His standing foremost in the persecution of Mr. Wilkes, if former declarations and connections be considered, is base and contemptible. The man, whom he now brands with treason and blasphemy, but a very few years ago was the duke of G——n's friend, nor is his identity altered, except by his misfortunes.—In the last instance of his grace's judgment and inconsistency, we see him, after trying and deserting every party, throw himself into the arms of a set of men, whose political principles he had always pretended to abhor. These men I doubt not will teach him the folly of his conduct better than I can. They grasp at every thing, and will soon push him from his seat. His private history would but little deserve our attention, if he had not voluntarily brought it into public notice. I will not call the amusements of a young man criminal, though I think they become his age better than his station. There is a period, at which the most unruly passions are gratified or exhausted, and which leaves the mind clear and undisturbed in its attention to business. His grace's gallantry would be offended, if we were to suppose him within many years of being thus qualified for public affairs. As for the rest, making every allowance for the frailty of human nature, I can make none

for

for a continued breach of public decorum; nor can I believe that man very zealous for the intereſt of his country, who ſets her opinion at defiance. This nobleman, however, has one claim to reſpect, ſince it has pleaſed our gracious ſ——n to make him prime miniſter of Great-Britain.

The Ch——r of the Ex——r is a moderate man, and pretends to no higher merit than that of an humble aſſiſtant in office. If he eſcapes cenſure, he is too prudent to aim at applauſe. The neceſſity of his affairs had ſeparated him from earlier friendſhips and connections, and if he were of any conſequence, we might lament that an honeſt man ſhould find it neceſſary to diſgrace himſelf in a poſt he is utterly unfit for. But we have other objects to attend to. It depends greatly upon the preſent management of the finances, whether this country ſhall ſtand or fall. A common clerk in office may conduct the ordinary ſupplies of the year, but to give a ſenſible relief to public credit, or to provide funds againſt a rupture abroad, are objects above him. To remove thoſe oppreſſions, which lie heavieſt upon trade, and, by the ſame operation, to improve the revenue, demands a ſuperior capacity, ſupported by the moſt extenſive knowledge. To vulgar minds it may appear unattainable, becauſe vulgar minds make no diſtinction between the highly difficult and the impoſſible.

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The earl of H——h ſet out with a determined attachment to the court party, let who would be miniſter. He had one vice leſs than other courtiers, for he never even pretended to be a patriot. The Oxford election gave him an opportunity of ſhewing ſome ſkill in parliamentry management, while an uniform obſequious ſubmiſſion to his ſuperiors introduced him into lucrative places, and crowned his ambition with a peerage. He is now what they call a K—'s man; ready, as the cloſet directs, to be any or nothing, but always glad to be employed. A new department, created on purpoſe for him, attracted a greater expectation than he has yet been able to ſupport. In his firſt act of power he has betrayed a moſt miſerable want of judgment. A proviſion for lord B—t was not an object of importance ſufficient to juſtify a riſque of the firſt impreſſion, which a new miniſter muſt give of himſelf to the public. For my own part, I hold him in ſome meaſure excuſed; becauſe I am perſuaded the defence he has delivered privately to his friends is true, "That the meaſure came from another and higher quarter." But ſtill he is the tool, and ceaſing to be criminal, ſinks into contempt. In his new department I am ſorry to ſay he has ſhewn neither abilities nor good ſenſe. His letters to the colonies, contain nothing but expreſſions equally looſe and violent. The minds of the Americans are not to be conci-

liated by a language which only contradicts without attempting to perſuade. His correſpondence, upon the whole, is ſo defective both in deſign and compoſition, that he would deſerve our pity, if the conſequences to be dreaded from it did not excite our indignation. This treatment of the colonies, added to his refuſal to preſent a petition from one of them to the K—, (a direct breach of the declaration of rights) will naturally throw them all into a flame. I proteſt, Sir, I am aſtoniſhed at the infatuation which ſeems to have directed his whole conduct. The other miniſters were foreſeeing in their uſual courſe, without proceeding or regarding conſequences; but this nobleman ſeems to have marked out, by a determined choice, the means to precipitate our deſtruction.

The earl of Sh---e had initiated himſelf in buſineſs, by carrying meſſages between the earl of Bute and Mr. Fox, and was for ſome time a favourite with both. Before he was an enſign he thought himſelf fit for a general, and to be a leading miniſter before he ever ſaw a public office. The life of this young man is a ſatyr on mankind. The treachery, which deſerts a friend, might be a virtue, compared to the fawning baſeneſs which attached itſelf to a declared enemy. Lord Chatham became his idol, introduced him into the moſt difficult department of the ſtate, and left him there to ſhift for himſelf. It was a maſter-piece of revenge. Unconnected,

connected, unſupported, he remains in office without intereſt or dignity, as if the income were an equivalent for all loſs of reputation. Without ſpirit or judgment to take an advantageous moment of retiring, he ſubmits to be inſulted, as long as he is paid for it. But even this abject conduct will avail him nothing. Like his great archetype, the vapour on which he roſe deſerts him, and now,

" Fluttering his pennons vain, plumb down he drops."

I cannot obſerve without reluctance, that the only man of real abilities in the preſent adminiſtration, is not an object either of reſpect or eſteem. The character of the lord Ch——r is a ſtrong proof that an able, conſiſtent, judicious conduct, depends upon other qualities than thoſe of the head. Paſſions and party, in his lordſhip's underſtanding, had united all the extremes. They gave him to the world in one moment, the patron of natural liberty, independent of civil conſtitutions; in the next the aſſertor of prerogative independent of law. How he will adviſe the Cr—n in the preſent criſis, is of more importance to the public than to himſelf. His patronage of Mr. Wilkes, and of America, have ſucceeded to his wiſh. They have given him a peerage, a penſion, and the ſeals; and, as for his future opinions, he can adopt none for which he may not find

a precedent and juſtification in his former conduct.

The earl of C—m—— I had much to ſay, but it were inhuman to perſecute, when providence has marked out the example to mankind ! *

My

* On the 15th of October, 1768, which was a very few days after the publication of this letter, the earl of Ch—m reſigned his poſt of lord privy ſeal. Having found in a variety of late inſtances, that his advice was diſregarded, and his influence in the ſtate at an end, he choſe to reſign. — The principle now adopted and purſuing with reſpect to America, is ſaid to have been one cauſe of his reſignation. And, amongſt many others, the following are added, the plan now forming by the united houſes of Bourbon and Auſtria, to deſtroy the peace and liberty of Europe, being looked upon with indifference, and treated as an idle chimera by thoſe who call themſelves miniſters. The high language lately held by the Britiſh miniſter at Paris upon the invaſion of Corſica by the French, and the ſtrong contradiction by authority given to it here. The memorial of a ſouthern potentate, once the natural and firm ally of Great Britain, (but now neceſſitated to bow with humiliation to France and Auſtria for ſecurity, and ſubmitting to take an annual ſtipend from France, as an equivalent for a territory, ſecured to him by treaty, the great object of his wiſhes, and the recompence for his ſervices and ſufferings in the common cauſe) repreſenting the danger to Great Britain, as well as to himſelf in *the ſuffering France to acquire the empire of the mediterranean*, theſe are his words. The family compact beginning to operate in its utmoſt, and moſt dangerous extent; and not one effort made by Great-Britain to check its progreſs. Mr. Lynch appointed miniſter to the court of Turin, contrary to the reſigner's recommendation, which was in favour of the earl of Tankerville. A general officer of unſpotted character and unſullied honour driven from the ſervice of his country,

and

My lord Gr——y is certainly a brave man and a generous man, and both without deſign or reflection. How far the army is improved under his direction, is another queſtion. His German friends will all have regiments; and it is enough to ſay of his lordſhip, that he has too much good humour to contradict the reigning miniſter.

The length of this letter will not permit me to do particular juſtice to the duke of B——d's friends; neither is it neceſſary. With

and baniſhed into obſcurity, leſt his abilities, or his bravery, ſhould contribute to prevent the approaching diſtreſs. Public buſineſs has for ſome time been at a ſtand; or what is worſe, it has been executed only by clerks. Men of profligate character, whoſe fortunes have been diſſipated in ſcenes of lewdneſs and debauchery, placed in the great offices of honour, truſt and emolument, with no other view but to aggrandize themſelves at the expence of the public; and who knowing that their own date in office cannot be longer than while the ſhadow of peace is preſerved, are daily diſgracing and debilitating the ſtate by the moſt infamous practices. Corruption at a height the moſt alarming and enormous, and practiſed in the moſt open and daring manner, to the danger both of the public liberty, and of the property of every individual in the kingdom. And to crown all, beyond their incomes, they are known to have accepted of an annual 500l. out of the miniſter's private pocket book, under the denomination of ſecret ſervice as the reward for betraying their country, or rather, as it were, to plunge the fatal dagger into the vitals of her exiſtence; the arch fiend of corruption is now performing the part of *locum tenens* to the abſent favourite; a wretch, who upon his legs in a certain aſſembly had once the hardineſs to defend the principle and the practice of corruption, and to add that the public buſineſs could not be carried

With one united view they have but one character. My lord G—r and lord W—h were diſtreſſed, and R—y was inſatiable. The ſchool

carried on without it. * Is it not alarming to ſee ſuch a man again truſted, and conſulted: and is it not the higheſt impeachment of the public juſtice that his former conduct is ſuffered to ſleep without enquiry? At the death of the late king he was ſaid to be worth at leaſt a million ſterling; and how much more hath he amaſſed by the peace and other jobs ſince?

October 21. In conſequence of lord Chatham's reſignation the earl of Shelburne reſigned the ſeals of his office (ſecretary of ſtate for the ſouthern department) into his majeſty's hand in the cloſet of St. James's.

October 22. The earl of Rochford, who had been ſent for from France, was made ſecretary of ſtate. Lord Weymouth was removed to lord Shelburne's office, and

* One of the Favourite's own advocates ſpeaks thus of the union between them. "Of all the indiſcretions which are to be imputed to his lordſhip, that of leaguing with a hardy veteran, long hackney'd in the ways of corruption, was the moſt fatal and the moſt inexcuſable. By this imprudent aſſociation, he, in ſome meaſure, put it out of his power to do the good he meditated. He might have been ſenſible, that ſuch a colleague, would gain him no confidence with the public; that the intereſt created by his well known mode of influence was not only incompatible with his lordſhip's avowed intentions, but that in the hour of need, it would deſert him, as it had abandoned his predeceſſor. If he had not intended to remedy the abuſes of former adminiſtrations, he ſhould not have accepted the high office he filled: As he propoſed to redreſs them, nothing could be more prepoſterous than to unite with the very man, who principally contributed to extend, and dared openly to avow, that corrupt ſyſtem, which his lordſhip profeſſed to reform."

lord

ſchool they were bred in taught them how to abandon their friends, without deſerting their principles. There is a littleneſs even in their ambition; for money is their firſt object. Their profeſſed opinions upon ſome great points are ſo different from thoſe of the party with which they are now united, that the council chamber is become a ſcene of open hoſtilities. While the fate of Great-Britain is at ſtake, theſe worthy counſellors diſpute without decency, adviſe without ſincerity, reſolve without deciſion, and leave the meaſure to be executed by the man who voted againſt it. This, I conceive, is the laſt diſorder of the ſtate. The conſultation meets but to diſagree. Oppoſite medicines are preſcribed, and the laſt fixed on is changed by the hand that gives it.

Such is the council, by which the beſt of ſ——ns is adviſed, and the greateſt nation upon earth governed. Separately the figures are only offenſive; in a group they are formidable. Commerce languiſhes, manufactures are oppreſſed, and public credit already feels her approaching diſſolution: yet, under the direction of this council, we are to prepare

lord Rochford ſucceeded lord Weymouth in the northern department.

About the latter of the month the earl of Briſtol was appointed lord privy ſeal. It was at firſt pretended by the friends of adminiſtration, that this appointment was by the advice of the earl of Chatham; but upon enquiry, it proved to be an abſolute falſity.

pare for a dreadful conteſt with the colonies, and a war with the whole houſe of Bourbon. I am not ſurpriſed that the generality of men ſhould endeavour to ſhut their eyes to this melancholy proſpect. Yet I am filled with grief and indignation, when I behold a wiſe and gallant people loſt in a ſtupidity, which does not feel, becauſe it will not look forward. The voice of one man will hardly be heard when the voice of truth and reaſon are neglected; but as far as mine extends, the authors of our ruin ſhall be marked out to the public, I will not tamely ſubmit to be ſacrificed, nor ſhall this country periſh without warning.

ATTICUS.

LETTER IV. *From the Same.*

His Concluſion.

Nov. 1768.

WHEN I foretold the approach of a foreign war, the certainty of a rupture with the colonies, and the decline of public credit, my opinion was chiefly founded on the character, circumſtances, and abilities of the preſent adminiſtration. Fortune has but little ſhare in the events moſt intereſting to mankind. Individuals periſh by their own imprudence, and the ruin of an empire is no more than the miſconduct of a miniſter or a king. Without the credit of perſonal reputation, divided as a miniſtry, and unſupported by talents or experience, his m——y's ſervants had left the field of national

tional calamity wide open to prediction. It ſeems they were determined to accompliſh more than even their enemies had foretold. For my own part, I am not perſonally their enemy, and I could have wiſhed that their conduct had not made the name of friend to the miniſtry irreconcileable with that of friend to Great Britain.

The moſt contemptible character in private life, and the moſt ruinous to private fortunes, is, that, which poſſeſſes neither judgment nor inclination to do right, nor reſolution enough to be conſiſtent in doing wrong. Such a man loſes all the credit of firmneſs, and uniformity, and ſuffers the whole reproach of weak or malicious intentions. In politics, there is no other miniſterial character ſo pernicious to the honour of a prince, or ſo fatal to the welfare of a nation. It is of the higheſt importance to enquire, whether the preſent miniſtry deſerve it.

The name of lord Ch——m's adminiſtration was ſoon loſt in that of the duke of G——n. His grace took the lead, and made himſelf anſwerable for the meaſures of a council, at which he was ſuppoſed to preſide. He had gone as far as any man in ſupport of Mr. Pitt's doctrine, *That parliament had no right to lay a tax upon America, for the ſole purpoſe of raiſing a revenue.* It was a doctrine on which lord Ch—m, and the Ch—r formed their adminiſtration, and his grace had concurred in it *with all his ſincerity.*

Yet the firſt act of his own adminiſtration was to impoſe that tax upon America, which has ſince thrown the whole continent into a flame. A wiſe man would have let the queſtion drop; a good man would have felt and adhered to the principles he profeſſed. While the gentle C—y breathed into his ear, he was all lenity and moderation. The colonies were dutiful children, and Great Britain a ſevere parent. A combination to ruin this country was no more than an amicable agreement, and rebellion was a natural right confirmed by the revolution. But now it ſeems his grace's opinions are altered with his connections. *The meaſures of the colonies are ſubverſive of the conſtitution; they manifeſt a diſpoſition to throw off their dependance*, and vigorous meaſures muſt be enforced at the point of the ſword. In vain may we look for the temper and firmneſs of a great miniſter;—we ſhall find nothing but the paſſion or weakneſs of a boy;—the enervated languor of a conſumption, or the falſe ſtrength of a delirium.

The ſame inconſiſtence will be found to prevail through every meaſure and operation of government. Perhaps there may be diſcovered ſomething more than ſupineneſs in the firſt neglect of Corſica, and ſomething worſe than inconſiſtence in the contradiction given to lord Rochford's ſpirited declaration to the court of France. His grace has lately adopted the oppoſite extream, and ſcru-

ples

ples not to give an alarming ſhock to public credit, by hints little ſhort of a declaration of war. What is this but the undetermined timidity of a coward, who trembles on the brink, until he plunges headlong into the ſtream?

In one gazette we ſee Sir Jeffery Amherſt diſmiſſed; in the very next, we ſee him reſtored, and both without reaſon or decency. The peerage, which had been abſolutely refuſed, is granted, and as in the firſt inſtance the r—y--l faith was violated, in the ſecond the r—y--l dignity is betrayed. But this perhaps is a compliment to the duke's new friendſhip with the earl of H——h.

Without approving of Mr. Wilke's conduct, I lament his fate. The duke of G—n, who contributed to his ſupport abroad, has given the mandate for his expulſion. But I truſt there is yet a ſpirit, which will not obey ſuch mandates. This honourable enterprize will propably be defeated, and leave the author of it nothing but a diſtinguiſhed exceſs of infamy, the laſt conſolation of a profligate mind.

Is it poſſible, ſir, that ſuch a miniſtry can long remain united, or ſupport themſelves if they were united? The duke of G——n, it is true, has no ſcruple nor delicacy in the choice of his meaſures. They are the meaſures of the day, and vary as often as the weather. But his companions had each their ſeparate plan, to which, for the credit of

government, and the benefit of this country, they have ſeverally adhered. The intrepid thoughtleſs ſpirit of the C——r in Ch—— looks no farther than to the diſpoſal of commiſſions. He is the friend and patron of the military. With this character he ſuffers the army to be robbed of a regiment, by way of penſion to the noble diſintereſted houſe of P——y; and Sir Jeffrey Amherſt to be ſacrificed without pretending to the credit of reſtoring him. His lordſhip's conduct perplexes me. I am at a loſs which to admire moſt; the penetrating ſagacity, with which he underſtands the rights of the army, or the firmneſs with which he defends them.

When an ungracious act was to be done, the earl of H——h was choſen for the inſtrument of it. He deſerved, ſince he ſubmitted to bear, the whole reproach of Sir Jeffery Amherſt's diſmiſſion. The gallant knight obtains his price, and the noble earl, with whatever appetite, muſt meet him, with a ſmile of congratulation, and *dear Sir Jeffery, I moſt cordially wiſh you joy!* After all, it muſt be confeſſed, there are ſome mortifications which might touch even the callous ſpirit of a courtier.

The chancellor of the ex——r has many deficiencies to make good beſides thoſe of land and malt; and to ſay the truth, he has a gallant way of doing it. He gallops bravely through thick and thin, as the court directs, and I dare ſay would defend even an

honeſt cauſe with as much zeal and eloquence, as if he were ordered to ſhew his parts upon *nullum tempus*, or a Cumberland election.

It would be unjuſt to the duke of B—'s friends to attribute their conduct to any but the motives which they themſelves profeſs. Mr. R—y is ſo modeſt a man, that the imputation of public virtue, or private good faith, would offend his delicacy, if he did not feel, as he certainly does, the genuine emotions of patriotiſm and friendſhip warm in his breaſt. They argued not ill for ambition, while they aſked for nothing but profit; and when the duke of G——n has exhauſted the treaſury, he will find that every other power departs with the power of giving.

In this and my former letters I have preſented to you, with plainneſs and ſincerity, the melancholy condition, to which we are reduced. The characters of a weak and worthleſs miniſtry would hardly deſerve the attention of hiſtory, but that they are fatally united, and muſt be recorded with the misfortunes of their country.

If there be yet a ſpark of virtue left among us, this great nation ſhall not be ſacrificed to the fluctuating intereſts, or wayward paſſions of a miniſter, nor even to the caprices **********. If there be no virtue left, it is no matter who are miniſters, nor how ſoon they accompliſh our deſtruction.

ATTICUS.

The

The next ſeries of remarkable papers which we ſhall ſelect, is on the ſubject of diſmiſſing Sir Jeffrey Amhurſt from his government of Virginia, &c. in Auguſt, 1768, *which is rendered memorable by the ſpirited and elegant pen of Lucius.—But before we enter upon the letters, it will not be amiſs to give the two accounts of the tranſaction itſelf, which theſe letters elucidate.*

The Adminiſtration Account.

SINCE the death of lieutenant governor Fauquier, the aſſembly of Virginia has preſented to the preſident of the council to be tranſmitted to England, two papers, the one a petition to the king, and the other a *remonſtrance* to the parliament, in which they as good as tell the latter, not to trouble their heads about them, for they ſhall for the future take care of themſelves. When theſe very extraordinary papers were received by the ſecretary of ſtate, he laid them before the other ſervants of the c—n, who all agreed, it was highly expedient, that the governor in chief of that province ſhould reſide there. This reſolution was approved of by the k—, and his m——y gave directions to the ſ——y of ſ—-e to ſignify it to Sir Jeffery Amhurſt; but at the ſame time not to preſs him to go if it was diſagreeable to him, but to acquaint him, that the k--- would make up to him the emoluments he received out of that government in another way.

way. L---d H--- accordingly called at general Amherſt's houſe, but being told he was in the country, he wrote the following letter to him.

H—— Square, 27th *July*, 1768.

SIR,

I AM commanded by the k— to acquaint you, that his M——, upon a conſideration of the diſpatches lately received from V——, thinks it neceſſary for his ſervice, that his governor of that colony ſhould immediately repair to his government; and at the ſame time, to expreſs to you the high opinion his m— has of your ability to ſerve him in that ſituation. But it is not the k—'s intention to preſs you to go upon that ſervice, unleſs it ſhall be perfectly agreeable to your inclination, as well as entirely convenient to you. His m—— does not forget, that the government of V—— was conferred upon you as a mark of royal favour, and as a reward for the very great ſervices you have done for the public, ſo much to your own honour, and ſo much to the advantage of this kingdom, and therefore his m--- is very ſolicitous that you ſhould not miſtake his gracious intention on this occaſion.

If you chuſe to go immediately to your government, it will be extremely ſatisfactory to his m---; if you do not, his m--- wiſhes

to

to appoint a new governor, and to continue to you in ſome other ſhape, that emolument which was, as I have ſaid before, intended as a mark of the royal ſenſe of your meritorious ſervices; it is a particular pleaſure to me to have the honour of expreſſing to you theſe very favourable ſentiments of our r---m---. To add any thing from myſelf, would be a degree of preſumption; I will therefore only requeſt the favour of your anſwer, as ſoon as may be convenient, and take the liberty to aſſure you, that I am,

H----.

Sir Jeffery Amherſt came to town, and waited on l--- h---, he expreſſed his diſinclination to go to Virginia, and ſaid, that having been commander in chief in America, he could not ſerve under general Gage, as governor of a ſingle province. L--- H--- replied, that if that was his only objection, he thought it might eaſily be anſwered, for that a governor was always the ſuperior perſon in his own province, and that his office, being a civil one, had no relation to the command of the king's troops. However, as his orders were not to preſs Sir Jeffery to go, and he found it was diſagreeable to him, he had nothing to ſay, and therefore only begged to know what were the emoluments which he received out of that government, that he might acquaint the k—, and receive his commands for making out a grant for an annuity

annuity accordingly. The general ſaid fifteen hundred guineas a year, but told his l——p, that by an annuity, he hoped he did not mean a penſion. Yes, replied l—H——, I do mean a penſion, and although a penſion may carry with it a diſagreeable idea, when it is given merely for the ſake of a penſion, yet when it is given as a reward for ſervices done the public, it becomes a mark of public approbation, witneſs l---C----m's penſion, which was given him as a reward for directing thoſe ſervices you ſo ably executed, witneſs too Sir E---- H---- his penſion for ſaving Ireland, and why not yours for adding Canada to the Britiſh dominions. Beſides, is not your preſent ſalary a penſion out of the revenue of Virginia, and where can be the difference to you, whether you receive it out of the four and half per cent duty upon ſugar, or the duty upon tobacco? but the difference will be material to the crown and the public, for that fund, which was given for the ſupport of a governor, will be properly applied, and the crown and the people will have the advantage of the governor in chief of the province of Virginia reſiding in his government. The general replied, he ſhould diſlike a penſion, but ſaid he muſt ſubmit to the k---'s pleaſure, and bowed off. When l---H--- reported what had paſſed to the k---, his m---y was moſt graciouſly pleaſed to order a grant of fifteen hundred guineas a

year *free of all deductions, and for life,* to be charged in the four and half per cent, for the uſe of Sir Jeffery Amherſt, in conſideration of his great ſervices, but before the grant could be made out, Sir Jeffery ſignified his intention to reſign his regiments.

The counter ſtory is as follows:

IN conſequence of the diſagreeabble advices lately received from Virginia, it was determined by the Scottiſh thane to ſend thither lord B. the laſt of his friends that remained unprovided for. But, to prevent this ſtrong mark of his influence from being diſcovered by the public eye, a c——t c——l was held, in which it is ſaid to have been reſolved, that it was highly neceſſary the governor of Virginia ſhould reſide in his province. This reſolution anſwered all purpoſes at once: it diſmiſſed Sir J. A. and it appointed lord B; for Sir J. A. was the only perſon in England who could not go to America in that capacity. He had been commander in chief there; therefore, by the rules of the army, and conſiſtent with his own character, he could not go to ſerve under general Gage (the preſent commander in chief there) who is an inferior officer, and who had ſerved under Sir J. in America. When the c——l broke up, lord H. directly went to Sir J. A's to acquaint him with their reſolution, but was informed Sir J.

was

was in the country: upon which lord H. returned, and wrote to him. But before the letter was delivered at Sir J's houſe in the country, he was ſet off for London; and finding that lord H. had been at his houſe, he went directly to his lordſhip's.

Lord H. after reciting ſome of the above particulars, ſaid, That as he (Sir J. A.) was lately married, he poſſibly might not chuſe to go to America. Though this ſeemed like ſuggeſting to Sir J. a reaſon for refuſing; yet the brave and worthy officer, whoſe amiable diſpoſition, and gentleman-like deportment, did not ſuffer him to reply in a ſtrain beſt adapted to the compliment, frankly and candidly anſwered, That, as general Gage (for whom he expreſſed a very great regard, and of whoſe abilities as an officer, he ſpoke in terms of the higheſt veneration) was commander in chief in America, he could not go to ſerve under that officer, who was not only inferior to him in his rank in the army, but had ſerved under him in America. That if the affairs of this colony required his going to America, he hoped the matter reſpecting general Gage would be accommodated. Lord H. ſaid, that could not be; general Gage muſt remain in his preſent ſituation: but added, that he ſhould not preſs him (Sir J. A.) to go; and then offered him a penſion of 1500*l.* per annum, as an equivalent for his government. Sir J. A. refuſed to accept the

offer, ſaying, the government of Virginia was given him expreſsly as a reward for ſervices during the late war, and as a mark of the royal approbation of his conduct in America; that, when it was given him, it was conſidered as a ſine-cure, without any requiſition of reſidence, which was never thought of, or intended at the time; for that the buſineſs and whole government of the province were to be entirely managed by the lieutenant-governor. Yet, there is no doubt but he would have gone upon terms conſiſtent with his honour, and his rank in the army.

They parted. And the next news that Sir J. A. received, was, that lord B. had kiſſed hands for his government of Virginia. Upon which Sir J. who received this account in the country, by a letter from his brother, came again to town, and finding it to be true, he reſigned his two regiments, viz. the 15th, and the 60th, to his M—— at St. James's, on the 18th of Auguſt, 1768.

Short Obſervations on theſe Accounts.

FROM comparing theſe two accounts together, the truth ſeems to be, that the ſ—y of ſ—e did not wiſh general Amherſt to go to America, nor expect that he would, otherwiſe he would ſurely have offered him the ſame command which he before had there, and in which ſtation it was

that

that he had rendered his country thoſe ſervices the miniſter pretended to be ſo ſenſible of. But his friend and brother *k—ſman*, being a little embaraſſed by his connections with the W——y company, and having been diſappointed in getting a patent, by which he might have transferred the loſs upon ignorant purchaſers of ſhares, he thought, by giving Sir Jeffery a penſion of 1500 guineas, to accommodate his friend with an income of near 4000, and a convenient abſence from this country. He imagined the general would have readily made the exchange, having found his ſervices ſo long ſlighted, and no attention paid him by any miniſter ſince his arrival in England: and now, that his former patron, the great duke of C——d was dead, and l--- C——m became incapable, he had nothing to expect.

To the Earl of H——h.

My Lord,

THE honourable lead you have taken in the affairs of America, hath drawn upon you the whole attention of the public. You declared yourſelf the ſingle miniſter for that country, and it was very proper you ſhould convince the world you were ſo, by marking your outſet with a *Coup d'eclat*. The diſmiſſion of Sir Jeffery Amherſt has given a perfect eſtabliſhment

bliſhment to your authority, and I preſume you will not think it neceſſary or uſeful to hazard ſtrokes of this ſort hereafter. It will be adviſeable at leaſt to wait until this affair is forgotten, and if you continue in office till that happens, you will ſurely be long enough a miniſter to ſatisfy your ambition.

The world attributes to your lordſhip the entire honour of Sir Jeffery Amherſt's diſmiſſion, becauſe there is no other perſon in the cabinet, who could be ſuppoſed to have a wiſh or motive to give ſuch advice to the C—n. The duke of Grafton and the chancellor were once lord Chatham's friends. However their views may now be altered, they muſt know it would diſgrace them in the eyes of the public, to offer an unprovoked outrage to a man, whoſe conduct and execution had contributed not a little to their patron's glory.

The duke of Bedford and his friends have uniformly held forth Sir Jeffery Amherſt as the firſt military man in this country;—they have quoted him on all occaſions, when military knowledge was in queſtion, and even been laviſh in his praiſe. Beſides they openly diſclaim any ſhare in this meaſure, and they are believed.

The earl of Shelburne uſually finds himſelf in oppoſition, therefore is not too often conſulted, In this inſtance, he certainly did not concur with the majority. He ſtill is or pretends to be attached to lord Chatham,

and

and I fancy he is not yet ſo cordially reconciled to the loſs of the American department, as to diſhonour himſelf merely to oblige your lordſhip.

You will not venture to inſinuate that Sir Jeffery Amherſt was admiſſed by the advice of lord Granby or Sir Edward Hawke. Military men have a ſenſe of honour, which your lordſhip has no notion of. They feel for a gallant officer who had his full ſhare in the toils and honour, and had ſome right to a ſhare in the profits of the war. They feel for the army and the navy. Lord Granby himſelf has *ſome* emoluments beſides his power, and Sir Edward Hawke has his penſion. Nobly earned I confeſs, but not better deſerved than by the labours, which conquered America in America. Beſides, my lord, the commander in chief is the patron of the army. It was a common cauſe, which he could not deſert without infamy and reproach. Lord Granby is not a man to take his tone from any miniſter. Where his honour is concerned, he ſcorns to adopt an humble miniſterial language; he never would ſay---*that indeed Sir Jeffery Amherſt was rather unreaſonable---that his terms were exorbitant, that he had ſtill two regiments left; and might well be contented*:---This is a language it is impoſſible he ſhould hold, while he himſelf is maſter general of the ordnance, colonel of the blues, and commander in chief, with a whole family upon the ſtaff. He knows

knows the value, and could not but be ſenſible of the loſs of thoſe honourable rewards, which his diſtinguiſhed capacity, his care of the public money, and his able conduct in Germany had juſtly entitled him to.

I think I have now named all the cabinet but the earl of Chatham. His infirmities have forced him into retirement, where I preſume he is ready to ſuffer, with a ſullen ſubmiſſion, every inſult and diſgrace that can be heaped upon a miſerable, decrepid, worn out old man. But it is impoſſible he ſhould be ſo far active in his own diſhonour, as to adviſe the taking away an employment, given as a reward for the firſt military ſucceſs, that diſtinguiſhed his entrance into adminiſtration. He is indeed a compound of contradictions, but his letter to Sir Jef. Amherſt ſtands upon record, and is not to be explained away. You know my lord, that Mr. Pitt therein aſſured Sir Jeffery Amherſt, that the government of Virginia was given him merely as a reward, and ſolemnly pledged the r---l faith that his reſidence ſhould never be required. Loſt as he is, he would not dare to contradict this letter. If he did, it would be ſomething more than madneſs. The diſorder muſt have quitted his head, and fixed itſelf in his heart.

The buſineſs is now reduced to a point, either your lordſhip adviſed this meaſure, or it happened by accident. You muſt ſuffer the whole reproach, for you are entitled to

all

all the honour of it. What then is apparently the fact? one of your cringing, bowing, fawning, ſword bearing brother courtiers * ruins himſelf by an enterprize, † which would have ruined thouſands if it had ſucceeded. It becomes neceſſary to ſend him abroad. Sir Jeffery Amherſt is one of the mildeſt and moſt moderate of men;--- ergo, ſuch a man will bear any thing. His government will be a handſome proviſion for B----t, and if he frets---why he may have a penſion. Your emiſſaries loſe their labour, when they talk with ſo much abhorrence of ſinecures, non-reſidence, and the neceſſity of the k---'s ſervice. You are conſcious my lord, that theſe are pompous words without a ſhadow of meaning. The whole nation is convinced that the fact is ſuch as I have ſtated it. But to make it a little plainer, I ſhall aſk your lordſhip a few queſtions, to which the public will expect, and your reputation, if you have any regard for it, demands, that you ſhould give an immediate and ſtrict anſwer.

1. When the government of Virginia was offered to Sir Jeffery Amherſt, did he not reply, that his military employment took up all his time, and that he could not accept of the government if reſidence were expected.

2. Did not Mr. Pitt, then ſecretary of ſtate, aſſure him in the k—'s name, that it

* Lord B——t. † The W——y Company.

was meant only as a mark of his majeſty's favour, and that the reſidence would never be expected.

3. Has there been any further mark of favour conferred upon this gentleman, for all thoſe important ſervices, which ſucceeded the conqueſt of Cape Breton.

But now for queſtions of a later date.

1. Was not lord Botetourt's appointment abſolutely fixed on or before Sunday the 31ſt of July?

2. Had Sir Jeffery Amherſt the leaſt intimation of the meaſure before Thurſday the 4th of Auguſt.

3. Was it not mentioned to him in general terms, as a meaſure merely in contemplation, without the moſt diſtant hint that lord Botetourt, or any other perſon was actually in poſſeſſion of his government?

4. Did not lord Botetourt kiſs hands the next day, that is on Friday the 5th of Auguſt?

5. Did you not dare to tell your ſ—n that Sir Jeffery Amherſt was perfectly ſatisfied, when you knew your treatment of him was ſuch as the vileſt peaſant could not have ſubmitted to without reſentment?

Finally, my lord, is it not a fact, that Sir Jeffery Amherſt having been called upon ſome time ago to give his opinion upon a meaſure of the higheſt importance in America, gave it directly againſt a favourite ſcheme of your lordſhip; and is not this the real cauſe of

your

your antipathy againſt him? Your heart tells you that it is.

Now, my lord, you have voluntary embarked in a moſt odious, perhaps it may prove to you a moſt dangerous buſineſs. Your Pylades will ſneak away to his government; but *you* muſt ſtand the brunt of it here. For the queſtions which I have propoſed to you, I muſt tell you plainly, that they *muſt, and ſhall* be anſwered.

You may affect *to take no notice of them*, perhaps, and tell us *you treat them with the contempt they deſerve*. Such an expedient may be wiſe and ſpirited enough when applied to a declaration of rebellion on the part of the colonies, and God knows it has ſucceeded admirably. But it ſhall not avail you here.

Num negare audes? Quid taces? Convincam ſi negas.

LUCIUS.

Anſwer.

I SHALL not pretend to enter into the merits of Sir J——y A——'s diſmiſſion from his government of V——a. Every body knows he deſerves a great deal of the public: And if what I have heard be true, even the preſent A——n do not refuſe it him. But there are a number of buſy incendiaries, who uſe every means to poiſon the minds of the good people of England, and to abuſe thoſe in power whoever they are.

Theſe neither inquire into the truth of the matter, nor do they fail to ſhew the moſt diſagreeable view of every action in the miniſtry. An impudent varlet Y. Z. in this day's paper, talks of forty or fifty lives loſt in St. George's fields. When was it? Others have heaped together a parcel of ill-natured lies, and given it the name of an account of the diſmiſſion of Sir J---y A---t.

The particulars of Sir J——y A——'s diſmiſſion, I am told are as follows: For very urgent reaſons it had been determined the governor general of every province in America ſhould reſide. Upon which lord H—— wrote a letter to Sir J——y, acquainting him of this reſolution. After making very honourable mention of his ſervice in America, how much his country was obliged to him for that activity, ſteadineſs and courage, which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhed the commander, and which from his example diffuſed itſelf through the whole army, by which means the Britiſh arms were crowned with ſucceſs, and the war ſo happily concluded in that part of the world; he mentioned the very high opinion his M——y had of him both as a man and a ſoldier, and how much it would be to his ſatisfaction, was it ſuitable to Sir J——y's inclinations and circumſtances, to go to Virginia and take upon him the ſupreme command in that province: But if it was not convenient, he might depend on it, that his M——y would take the earlieſt

earlieſt opportunity of doing juſtice to his merits, by making him a recompence equivalent at leaſt to the loſs of his government.

This letter was ſcarce finiſhed when Sir J——y A——t called at lord H——h's on ſome other buſineſs. His lordſhip took that opportunity to explain the intentions of adminiſtration by ſuch a meaſure, gave him the letter, and Sir J——y ſeemed to be convinced of the neceſſity of the arrangement, acquieſced in the propoſals made to him, and went away to all appearance well ſatisfied.

If it was the firſt day or not, I know not, but Sir J——y very ſoon after this demanded an audience of his M——y, and reſigned the command of his regiments.

This not being accepted of, and the miniſtry willing to keep ſuch a man in the ſervice, and not wiſhing to give cauſe for his reſignation, endeavoured to reaſon with him; upon which he (Sir J----y A----t) delivered or ſent to the D. of G----n the following articles of accommodation.

1. A britiſh peerage to himſelf, and failing heirs of his body, to deſcend to his brother the colonel.

2. A recompence equivalent to the loſs of his government.

3. An excluſive right of working the coal mines at Louiſburg to him and his heirs for ever.

4. A grant of lands in America to a certain extent.

5. And

5. And in caſe it ſhould be judged expedient to create American peers, that he ſhould have the pre-eminence.

The D. of G---n on receiving this, begged to ſee Sir J----y. Who ſent him word, if the interview was intended to induce him to lower his demands, it was totally unneceſſary. His grace then went to him, and gave him the following anſwers.

1. Britiſh peerages were generally given to ſuch, whoſe opulent fortunes enabled them to ſupport that high dignity. This reaſon he apprehended Sir J----y could not plead.

2. It always had been his M----y's intentions to make him a recompence equivalent to his government.

3. Reaſons political and commercial forbade the working of the American coal mines at all.

4. He might have the grant of lands in America, when, where, and to what extent he pleaſed; but he did not apprehend there was the leaſt reaſon to make the fifth demand, as he ſuppoſed a creation of American peers would never take place.

Sir J---y A----t's regiments are not given away.

I ſhall make no comment on this. I tell it as a fact, which I have heard from what people call good authority. The diſmiſſion of an experienced and deſerving commander requires ſome attention; and there can be no harm in making the public acquinted with it.

it. The number of falſhoods that have been ſpread abroad about this tranſaction have induced me to ſend you this.

I muſt tell you, however, that my information is ſecond hand; but it may have this good effect, even if not true, to induce thoſe who know the contrary to do as I have done. I ſhall therefore conclude with this queſtion: Are theſe things true or not?

CLEOPHAS.

To the Earl of H——h.

My Lord,

IN the ordinary courſe of life, a regularity of accounts, a preciſion in point of fact, and a punctual reference to dates, form a ſtrong preſumption of integrity. On the other hand, an apparent endeavour to perplex the order and ſimplicity of facts, to confound dates, and wander from the main queſtion, are ſhrewd ſigns of a rotten cauſe and of a guilty conſcience. Let the public determine between your lordſhip and me. You have forfeited all title to reſpect; but I ſhall treat you with tenderneſs and mercy, as I would a criminal at the bar of juſtice.

In your letter ſigned Cleophas you are pleaſed to aſſume the character of a perſon half informed. We underſtand the uſe of this expedient. You avail yourſelf of every thing that can be ſaid for you by a third perſon, without being obliged to abide by the

apology,

apology, if it ſhould fail you. My lord, this is a paltry art, unworthy of your ſtation, unworthy of every thing but the cauſe you have undertaken to defend. While you purſue theſe artifices, it is impoſſible to know on what principles you really reſt your defence. But you may ſhift your ground as often as you pleaſe; you ſhall gain no advantage by it. Your lordſhip, under the character of Cleophas, is exactly acquainted with particulars, which could only be known to a few perſons, while you totally forget a ſeries of facts known to thouſands. You can repeat every article of your own lettter to Sir Jeffery Amherſt, though your own memory be too weak to recollect on what day lord Botetourt's appointment was fixed, on what day he kiſſed hands, and on what day the deſign was opened to Sir Jeffery Amherſt. Theſe, it ſeems are circumſtances of no importance, and to ſay the truth, I believe they are ſuch as you would willingly forget. I am glad to find however, that the acknowledgements of Sir Jeffery Amherſt's merit and ſervices could not be more full and formal than as it is ſtated in your letter to him. Upon that point then we are agreed.

You ſay Sir Jeffery Amherſt, at your firſt converſation, ſeemed ſatisfied. My lord, I muſt tell you, that when a ſecretary of ſtate aſſures Sir Jeffery Amherſt that any particular meaſure is neceſſary for the king's ſervice, he is too good a ſubject to ſet his private intereſt

tereſt in oppoſition to the public welfare. But did you tell him that his government was given away four days before? Did you not ſpeak of it as a meaſure *in futurum*, which was not to take place till he was perfectly ſatisfied? In ſhort, did you tell him that lord Botetout was to kiſs hands next morning? Anſwer theſe queſtions like a man, and a gentleman.

When Sir Jeffery Amherſt found that all this pretended neceſſity of the k—'s ſervice ended, in a proviſion for a ruined courtier, he felt the indignation of a man who has received an *affront*, not an *injury*. Your emiſſaries affect to ſay, that he was deſired to repair to his government, and upon his refuſal was diſmiſſed. This you know was not the fact, ſo that every reaſoning built upon it falls to the ground. You never did nor could propoſe to him, to return to America in a rank ſubordinate to general Gage. It never was a queſtion; and indeed how ſhould it, when his government was given away on the 31ſt of July, and he had not the moſt diſtant intimation that ſuch a meaſure was thought of, until Thurſday the 4th of Auguſt. Mark theſe dates, my Lord, for you ſhall not eſcape me.

After the affront had been fixed upon him in the groſſeſt manner, he was deſired to conſider what ſatisfaction he would accept of. He then ſent to the duke of Grafton the demands, which you have ſtated to the

public. Theſe, and the anſwers to them, ſhall now be conſidered. The word *demand* is peremptory and unfit to be made uſe of by a ſubject in a requeſt to the crown. It *was not* made uſe of by Sir J. A. though, for the matter of it, I aſſert without ſcruple, that a man of diſtinguiſhed public merit, who has been ſignally inſulted, is not in the caſe of a ſuppliant, but has a *right* to a ſignal reparation.

The duke of G——n's idea of the proper object of a Britiſh peerage differs very materially from mine. His Grace in the true ſpirit of buſineſs, looks for nothing but an opulent fortune; meaning, I preſume the fortune which can purchaſe, as well as maintain a title. We underſtand his grace, and know who dictated that article. He has declared the terms on which jews, gameſters, pedlars and contractors (if they have ſenſe enough to take the hint) may riſe without difficulty into Britiſh peers. There was a time indeed, though not within his Grace's memory, when titles were the reward of public virtue, and when the crown did not think its revenue ill employed in contributing to ſupport the honours it had beſtowed. It is true his Grace's family derive *their* wealth and greatneſs from a different origin;—from a ſyſtem which, he it ſeems, is determined to revive. His confeſſion is frank, and well becomes the candour of a young man, at leaſt. I dare ſay, that if either his grace or

your

your lordſhip had had the command of a ſeven years war in America, you would have taken care that poverty, however honourable, ſhould not have been an objection to your advancement;——you would not have ſtood in the predicament of Sir Jeffery Amherſt, who is refuſed a title of honour becauſe he did not create a fortune equal to it, at the expence of the public.

For the matter of a recompenſe equivalent to his government, he repeatedly told your lordſhip that the name of penſion was grating to his ears; and that he would accept of no revenue that was not at the ſame time honorary. Your lordſhip does not know the difference, but men of honour feel it.

If reaſons political and commercial forbid working the coal-mines in America, *that* I allow, is an anſwer *ad hominem*. It may be a true one; yet I do not deſpair of ſeeing theſe very mines hereafter granted to ſupport the chaſtity of a miniſter's whore, the integrity of a pimp, or the uncorrupted blood of a baſtard.

His grace is wonderfully bountiful in the article of lands, I doubt not he would, with all his heart, give Sir Jeffery Amherſt the fee ſimple of every acre from the Miſſiſippi to California. But we ſhall be the leſs ſurprized at his generoſity, when we conſider that every private ſoldier, who ſerved a certain time in America, was entitled to two hundred acres, and that not one man, out

of perhaps twenty thouſand claimants, has yet ſettled upon his eſtate.

As to American peerages, if none are to be created, the requeſt falls of courſe. But if ſuch a creation had been intended, I call upon your lordſhip to point out a man better entitled to precedence upon that liſt than Sir Jeffery Amherſt.

Your laſt aſſertion is, that his regiments are not given away. It is a matter of perfect indifference. Yet the public has reaſon to believe that colonel Hotham is now col. of the 15th regiment, and that the commiſſion of commandant of the Royal Americans, only waits until it ſhall be determined, whether general Gage ſhall be recalled or not.

Permit me now to refer your lordſhip to the queſtion ſtated in my laſt letter, and to deſire you to anſwer them ſtrictly. If you do not, the public will draw its own concluſions.

Your emiſſaries, my Lord, have rather more zeal than diſcretion. One of them, who calls himſelf a conſiderate Engliſhman, could not write by authority, becauſe he is entirely unacquainted with facts. His declamation therefore ſignifies nothing. In his aſſertions however, there is ſomething really not unpleaſant. He aſſures us that your lordſhip's great abilities were brought into employment to correct the blunders of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration. It puts me in

mind

mind of the conſulſhip which *Caligula* intended for his horſe, and of a project, which *Buckhorſe* once entertained of obliging the learned world with a correct edition of the claſſics.

LUCIUS.

AS I have not the leaſt intention to enter any diſpute with Lucius, indulge me but this once, and give me leave to aſſure you, it ſhall be the laſt on the ſubject from me; and though this man writes ſo ungenteelly, that he ſcarce deſerves an anſwer, yet I could not help thinking this much neceſſary in juſtice to a nobleman, whom he has moſt ſhamefully attacked in conſequence of my letter, but whoſe character is above the reach of malice, and who will be reſpected, when ſuch peſts of ſociety are no more.

The account I ſent you relative to the reſignation of Sir J——y A——t I had heard publicly talked of at table, and in a coffee houſe; it was told as no ſecret; but was ſaid to be from very good authority. I ſent it as a piece of intelligence, without either adding or diminſhing, I made no comment on it, as I intended no offence. Facts were ſtated as they were told, and as no dates were mentioned, I gave none, I left it to the public to form opinions as they pleaſed; to Sir J——y A——t's friends to contradict it, if they thought proper; and it has ſerved as a bone for curs of oppoſition to ſnarle at.

Though

Though I do not mean to enter into any diſpute with this fellow, yet I cannot help making a few obſervations on his letter. That the government of Virginia was given away four days before the intention of adminiſtration was mentioned to Sir J——y A——t, I have ground to believe it is not fact: good. And if you, Lucius, poſſeſſed but one grain of honeſty, and if you had no other intention but to communicate uſeful information to the public, you would have told them ſo: That it was applied for even as ſoon as it was whiſpered that ſuch a meaſure was to be adopted, upon the ſuppoſition that Sir J——y A——t would not chuſe to reſide I can believe: That it was promiſed to lord Botetourt in caſe he did not I can likewiſe believe; and this might have been four, or even fourteen days for ought I know before it was mentioned; but pray where is the harm in all this? I fancy no meaſure of government is entered into immediately on its being mentioned; it requires ſome time to digeſt. And when it was judged expedient, in conſequence of the accounts from that province, to ſend the governor general to reſide in Virginia, it was mentioned in the tendereſt manner to Sir J——y. No affront was ever intended. Any recompence (if he did not chuſe to go) in the power of adminiſtration, or in the gift of majeſty, was offered to him. What more could he expect? He had it in his option to go or not; and if he did

did not go, he was promiſed an equivalent, perhaps more. As ſoon as this meaſure was ſurmiſed, was there any harm in lord Botetourt's application? was there any fault in lord H——h's promiſing his intereſt for his friend? But is this an abſolute appointment? No. All the world knows applications are made long before vacancies happen, and preferments are promiſed; but every one, except Lucius, can make a diſtinction between a promiſe and abſolute appointment. I dare ſay there were applications from more than one quarter before the late a——p died: and probably it was promiſed before the event happened: but if the ſee had not become vacant, the preſent a——p might have remained at Coventry.

But ſpeak out malevolence, ſpeak envy, diſappointment and ill-nature. What in the name of goodneſs could be Sir Jeffery Amherſt's objection to lord Botetourt? Was it becauſe he is a nobleman? Becauſe he has gone to the chapel at St. James's, and has carried the ſword of ſtate before his king? Becauſe he never has inſulted majeſty, but has always behaved himſelf as a dutiful and loyal ſubject, and reſpectfully to his ſovereign? Are theſe the weighty motives for objecting to his ſucceſſion? Or is it ſtill a greater crime to be poor? And do theſe make it an *affront* not an *injury*? Forbid it heaven! Forbid it Sir Jeffery Amherſt's better genius! What would you have had Lucius? Would you have

have wiſhed to have had the naming of Sir J——y's ſucceſſor! What a pity you had not! I declare you deſerved it! How could my lord H——h dare to recommend without your permiſſion!

Demands, you ſay, are unfit to be uſed from ſubjects requeſting of the crown. Indeed, Lucius, you are right; but many ſubjects now-a-days forget that they are ſo! and call them by what name you pleaſe, I acknowledge theſe articles of accommodation ſent to the D. of G——n by Sir J——y A——t, or ſaid to be ſent, anſwer exactly to the ideas I have of *demands*, and pretty peremptory ones too.

It is ſtrange, Lucius, that you cannot write one line without abuſe. Had you made your remarks upon the D. of G——'s anſwer to the firſt article without abuſing his grace, it would have been genteel; but the ſcurrilous language you uſe, even when your arguments are juſt, that proves you are equally acquainted with the gentleman, and ſenſe of honour. I believe it is well known, that no commander in chief ever made leſs during a long war than Sir J——y A——t did: And I am very ſorry indeed that want of fortune, the conſequence of honeſty and integrity, ſhould ever be aſſigned as a reaſon to refuſe honours to thoſe who deſerve them. The honours of this country, and its treaſures to ſupport them, have often been laviſhed on many who deſerved them leſs than

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the conqueror of America. This I think was the only exceptionable anſwer from the D. of G——n. I hope it is not true.

Whatever delicate feelings you, Mr. Lucius, may have, I know not; but I am of opinion, that ſinecure places, non-reſident governments, and penſions are in fact the ſame, though different in names: Nay, the worſt of the whole appears to me to be a non-reſident governor. The very word implies a neceſſity of doing ſomething: In fact he does nothing; he therefore is paid for what he does not, though it is his duty to do it. In ſhort he is paid for neglect of duty; but becauſe our language has not annexed the word penſion to ſuch neglect, it does not grate his ears. And, after all, what was Sir J. A—ſt but a penſioner on the colony of Virginia; He did nothing for it, and was paid. Our idea of a penſion is a reward granted for paſt ſervices, ſo was his — ſuch as you Lucius, ſuch tools of oppoſition, ſuch ſtate incendiaries, venal mercenary wretches are glad to receive rewards of your labours infinitely leſs honourable than either place or penſion.

The D. of G——n's other anſwers were unexceptionable. As to the regiments being given away, I did not know it, therefore I am excuſable.

And now, Mr. Lucius, I'll tell you a ſecret. Your ſuppoſing my letter to come from my L—d H—h, in my opinion did credit to the performance, and honour to

me; but in juſtice to him I muſt declare, that I am not, know not, never ſaw, nor never ſpoke to the E. of H---h in my life--- but juſt, as formerly,

CLEOPHAS.

To the Earl of H——h.

My Lord,

IT is indifferent to the public, whether the letters ſigned Cleophas, are written by your lordſhip, or under your immediate direction. Whover commits this humble begging language to paper, we know to a certainty the perſon by whom it is held. We know the ſuppliant ſtile your lordſhip has condeſcended to adopt at routes, at tea tables, and in banker's ſhops. But although you have changed your tone, I am bound in honour not to give you quarter. You have offended heinouſly againſt your country, and public juſtice demands an example for the welfare of mankind.

I foreſaw Cleophas would ſoon be diſcovered. It ſeems the poor gentleman never ſaw, nor ſpoke to your lordſhip in his life, *but juſt as formerly*. The ſaying is a good one.

You ſay your character is above the reach of malice. True, my lord, you have fixed that reproach upon your character, to which malice can add nothing. You ſay it will be reſpected when ſuch peſts of ſociety as I am, are no more. I agree with you that it is very little reſpected *at preſent*, and I believe I may

may unluckily have been the ſpoil of good company; but I doubt whether *my* death, or even your own, will reſtore you to your good fame. Your peace of mind is gone for ever.

After the particulars quoted by Cleophas, it looks like trifling with the public, to confeſs that his accounts were collected in a coffee houſe, and that he will neither anſwer for facts nor be directed by dates. Theſe are evaſions which I ſcorn to imitate. My authority is indiſputable;---I have ſtated facts with preciſion, and marked the dates by which I ſhall invariably abide, yet Cleophas (alias your lordſhip,) ſays he has good ground *to believe* that the government was not given away four days before Sir J. A. was appriſed of it;---he *believes* indeed that it was previouſly applied for, and that lord Botetourt had a conditional promiſe of it. Theſe, it ſeems are the articles of his creed; but, as they are not points of religious faith, to which there might be ſome merit in ſacrificing our underſtanding, I preſume the public is not obliged to conform to them. My queſtions were put ſtrictly to points of fact and time, and have not yet been anſwered. Places, I doubt not, are often applied for and promiſed before they are vacant; but I did not expect to hear ſo indecent a caſe ſuppoſed and urged by a man in your lordſhip's ſtation, as that the ſee of Canterbury was promiſed to another,

another, before the death of a late pious and truly reverend incumbent.

You ſay that government was ready to make Sir J. A. any recompence: yet, excepting a grant of land in a wilderneſs, every one of his requeſts were flatly denied.

You aſk if there was any harm in this, or any fault in that.—What is this but crying *peccavi*, in the very language of miſery and deſpair? It neither ſuits the ſpirit, which can do no wrong with firmneſs, nor that purity of innocence, which is conſcious of having done right. If the neceſſity of ſending over a governor to Virginia had really exiſted, and if your lordſhip had thought proper to take an early opportunity of ſtating that neceſſity to Sir J. A.---If you had previouſly appriſed him of the deſign of giving him a ſucceſſor, and if, in conformity to ſuch declaration, a man of buſineſs, of judgment, or activity, had been fixed, you ſurely would not have paid too great an attention to Sir J. A. and you would have prevented every poſſible appearance of an intention to affront him. As to the pecuniary injury, I will venture to ſay, there is not a man breathing who would have been more eaſily ſatisfied in that reſpect than Sir J. A.—Compare this ſuppoſition with your real proceedings towards him, and though you cannot bluſh, I am ſure you will be ſilent.

Your queſtion in favour of lord Botetourt amounts to nothing. It is not that he is a bad man, or an undutiful ſubject. But he is a trifling

a trifling character and ruined in his fortunes. Poverty of itſelf is certainly not a crime. Yet the prodigality, which ſquanders a fair eſtate, is in the firſt inſtance diſhonourable;—in the next it leads to every ſpecies of meanneſs and dependance, and, when it aims at a recovery at the expence of better men, becomes highly criminal. Will your lordſhip, can you, with a ſteady countenance, affirm that it was the *neceſſity* of the ſtate, and not his own, which ſent him to Virginia?

Your lordſhip may give what name you think proper to the requeſts propoſed by Sir J. A. He was deſired to ſpecify them to the duke of Grafton, and they were refuſed. It is true, he did not confine himſelf to the idea of a bare equivalent for the pecuniary value of his government. A generous mind, offended by an inſult equally ſignal and unprovoked, looks back to ſervices long neglected, and with juſtice unites the claim ariſing from thoſe ſervices to the inſult, which of *right* demands a ſignal reparation.

As you ſeem, in the duke of Grafton's anſwer to the firſt article, to feel and acknowledge your weakneſs, I ſhall not preſs you further upon it.

The penſions given by the crown have been ſo ſcandalouſly proſtituted, that a man of any nicety might well be forgiven, if he wiſhed not to have the title of penſioner added to his name. But I ſhall not deſcend to a diſpute about words. I ſpeak to things. If, inſtead of the government of Virginia, his late Majeſty,

jeſty, on the ſurrender of Louiſburgh, had thought proper to give Sir J. A. a penſion, and if this had been the declared motive of giving it, he might have accepted it without ſcruple, and held it with honour. Inſtances of penſions ſo beſtowed are not very frequent. Sir Edward Hawke's is one. How widely different is the caſe in queſtion? I will not pretend to do juſtice to this good man's delicacy and ſenſe of honour; but I can eaſily conceive how a man of common ſpirit muſt be affected, when a place which he poſſeſſed on the moſt honourable terms, is taken from him, without even the decency due to a gentleman;——when he ſees it given to a needy court dependant, and when the only reparation offered him, is to enroll him in the liſt of penſioners, among whom an honeſt man would bluſh to ſee his name. If you had not been in ſuch haſte to correct the blunders of Mr. Pitt's adminiſtration, I think your inſignificant friend might have appeared in that liſt without any diſgrace to himſelf, and his diſtreſſes might have done credit to the humanity of your lordſhip's recommendation.

You did not know the 15th regiment was given to col. Hotham.—Yet your aſſertion was direct. For ſhame, my lord, have done with theſe evaſions. Poor P—n—l hangs his head in perfect modeſty, and even your *fidus Achates*, your unfortunate B—ng—n diſowns you.

I ſhall conclude with hinting to you (in a way which you alone will underſtand) that there

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is a part of my behaviour, for which you owe me ſome acknowledgment. I know the oſtenſible defence given to the public differs widely from the real one intruſted privately to your friends. You are ſenſible that the moſt diſtant inſinuation of what that defence is would ruin you at once. But I am a man of honour, and will neither take advantage of your imprudency, nor of the difficulty of your ſituation.

LUCIUS.

Pleriſque moris eſt, prolato rerum ordine, in aliquem lætum atque plauſibilem locum quam maxime poſſint abiliter excurrere.

QUINTILIAN.

To the Earl of H——h.

My Lord,

YOUR change of title makes no alteration in the merits of your cauſe. You argued as well, and were full as honeſt a man, under the character of Cleophas as you are under that of Scrutator. The taſk of following falſehood through a lybrinth of nonſenſe is, I confeſs, much heavier than I expected. You have a way with you, my lord, that blunts the edge of attention, and ſets all argument at defiance. But I hold myſelf engaged to the public, whoſe cauſe is united to that of Sir Jeffery Amherſt. The people of this country feel as they ought to do the treatment of a man who has ſerved them well; the time may come, my lord, when

when you in your turn may feel the effect of their reſentment.

You ſet out with aſſerting, that the crown has an indiſputable power of diſmiſſing its officers without aſſigning a cauſe.—Not quite indiſputable, my lord; for I have heard of addreſſes from parliament, to know who adviſed the diſmiſſion of particular officers. I have heard of impeachments attending the wanton exertion of the prerogative, and you perhaps may live to hear of them likewiſe.

Another aſſertion of the ſame ſort has been thrown out by your emiſſaries, and now gravely maintained by your lordſhip, — viz. that the promiſe conveyed to Sir J. A. by Mr. Pitt, was in itſelf an abſurdity, and that no ſucceeding miniſter is bound to make good an engagement entered into by his predeceſſor in office. I ſhall leave my lord privy ſeal to explain to you the motives on which Mr. Pitt acted. The promiſe aroſe from his own motive, and, if he has not ſpirit enough to maintain it, he deſerves the contempt with which you treat him. In the mean time, I ſhall preſume that a lieutenant-governor was then thought as *efficient* an officer as a governor, and that this poſt was beſtowed on Sir J. A. not as the ſalary of future duties, but as the reward of ſervices already performed. In the ſecond part of your aſſertion, you wilfully confound the general meaſures of government with the particular promiſe of a — made to an individual. Even miniſters, my lord, might,

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without any injury to their characters, preſerve the faith and integrity of their office. But whatever latitude they claim for themſelves, the honour of a — ought to be ſacred, even to his ſucceſſor. The propoſition that miniſters are not bound by the engagements of their predeceſſors, if taken generally, is falſe. There is no breach of public faith, which may not be juſtified on ſuch a principle. Treaties at this rate may be violated without national diſhonour, and the moſt ſolemn aſſertions from the throne, contradicted without reſerve. You forget that you are mixing the permanent dignity of the crown, with the fluctuating views and intereſts of its ſervants. Yet I ſhall now allow you more, my lord, than I believe you expect. I ſhall admit, without heſitation, that the promiſe made to Sir J. A. could not be ſo abſolute, as not to be revokable in a caſe of urgent neceſſity. If ſuch a caſe had been ſtated, and demonſtrated to Sir J. A. he would not have ſtaid to be ſolicited. He would either have gone himſelf, or cheerfully reſigned his government to his majeſty's diſpoſal. The queſtion turns then upon the degree of that neceſſity. Make it evident to the public, and I ſhall then only complain that you have done a right thing in a manner the moſt indecent and abſurd. You will remember, my lord, how much the iſſue of this queſtion depends upon lord Botetourt's character, for the public will not eaſily be perſuaded, that a conjuncture which

did not riſe above the level of lord Botetourt's abilities, could be difficult, urgent or important.

You ſay, the facts on which you reaſon, *are univerſally admitted.*——A *gratis dictum*, which I flatly deny. If, inſtead of wandering into wild declamations, you had found it convenient to ſolve my queſtions ſtrictly, we ſhould have joined iſſue upon our facts, and the point would long ſince have been determined. Permit me to refreſh your memory with ſome of them once more.

1. Was not lord Botetourt abſolutely appointed on the 31ſt of July?

2. Was it mentioned in any ſhape to Sir J. A. before the 4th of Auguſt?

3. Was it not then mentioned as a meaſure in contemplation only?

4. Did not lord Botetourt kiſs hands next morning, that is Friday the 5th inſtant?

5. Did not Sir J. A.'s opinion in council defeat an American ſcheme, formed by lord B——n and you, and is not this the true cauſe of your rancour againſt him?

It is unworthy the character of a gentleman to endeavour to amuſe the public with idle declamations, while ſuch queſtions as theſe remain unanſwered.

LUCIUS.

To the Earl of H——h.

My Lord,

THERE is no ſurer ſign of a weak head, than a ſettled depravity of heart. A baſe action is a diſorder of the mind, and

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next to the folly of doing it, is the folly that defends it. Had the letter ſigned *Lucius* never been anſwered, you would not have ſo ſhamefully betrayed the weakneſs of your cauſe, and your ſilence might have been interpreted into a conſciouſneſs of innocence. The queſtion is now exhauſted, for the public is convinced. How well or ill we have argued is of infinitely leſs importance than the integrity of facts. Yet even facts, tho' ſeparately true, will prove nothing, if the order in which they happened, be confounded. Take it finally, my lord, and diſprove it if you can. Lord Botetourt's appointment was fixed on or before ſunday. You called at Sir Jeffery Amherſt's on the Wedneſday following. He was not in town, but you ſaw him next day (*Thurſday*). You then told him that ſuch a meaſure was in contemplation; but far from naming his ſucceſſor you did not tell him that his ſucceſſor was appointed. Yet lord Botetourt kiſſed hands the next morning (Friday), and the firſt notice Sir J. A. received of his lordſhip's appointment was by an expreſs ſent to him that evening by his brother.

That you are a civil, polite perſon is true. Few men underſtand the little morals better, or obſerve the great ones leſs than your lordſhip. You can bow and ſmile in an honeſt man's face, while you pick his pocket. Theſe are the virtues of a court, in which your education has not been neglected. In any other ſchool you might have learned, that Simplicity and Integrity are worth them all. Sir Jeffery Amherſt was fighting the battles of this country, while you, my lord, the darling child of prudence and urbanity, were practiſing the generous arts of a courtier, and ſecuring an honourable intereſt in the antichamber of a favourite.

As a man of abilities for public buſineſs, your firſt experiment has been unfortunate. Your circular letter to the American governors, both for matter and compoſition, is a performance, which a ſchool-boy ought to bluſh for. The importance and difficulty

of the occaſion gave you a fair opportunity of ſhewing by what talents you were qualified for the ſtation of a Miniſter. The aſſembly of Maſſachuſets bay, not contented with their own efforts to throw off their allegiance, ſolicit the other colonies to unite with them in meaſures of the ſame tendency and ſpirit. A reſolution of this extraordinary nature demanded the whole attention of government, and yours in particular. Let us ſee how you have treated it. Inſtead of a clear preciſe inſtruction to each governor;—Inſtead of ſeparate inſtructions adapted to the temper, circumſtances, and intereſts of the ſeveral provinces, wherein you might have ſhewn your political abilities as well as your knowledge of that country; what have you done? In a circular letter of twenty or thirty lines (conceived in the ſame terms to all the governors) you tell them.

"That this meaſure is of a dangerous and factious tendency" *A moſt wonderful diſcovery.*

"That it is calculated to inflame the minds of his majeſty's ſubjects" *What elſe do you think was meant by it?*

"An unwarrantable combination" *That's the queſtion with* THEM, *and why did you not prove it ſo?*

"That it excites an oppoſition to parliament" *What other deſign in the name of folly, could be propoſed by it?*

"That it ſubverts the true principles of the conſtitution" *which they utterly deny?*

What are theſe but the looſe hackneyed terms of office, which make no impreſſion, becauſe they convey no argument, and hardly a determinate meaning. You have not ſuggeſted a ſingle motive to any one of the colonies, why they ſhould not unite with the aſſembly at Boſton. This taſk you leave to the governors, and if they find it an eaſy one, ſo much the better. Your concluſion however is a maſter-piece. You deſire the governors to prevail with their aſſemblies to take no notice of the requiſition from Boſton, *which will be treating it with*

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the contempt it deſerves. What, my lord, do you ſeriouſly think, that a formal attempt to unite the whole continent of America in rebellion againſt this country deſerves nothing but the ſilent indifference of contempt? Is this the language of buſineſs and attention? Your letter, my lord, does indeed deſerve contempt, but the enterprizes of the colonies are of other importance. They call for other meaſures and other miniſters, and be aſſured that, when parliament meets, unleſs you intend to govern without one, neither you nor your companions will be permitted to ruin this country with impunity. LUCIUS.

P. S. A Friend of mine has taken the pains to collect a number of epithets, with which lord H. has been pleaſed to honour me in the courſe of our correſpondence. I ſhall lay them before the public in one view, as a proof of his lordſhip's urbanity and ſingular condeſcenſion.

1. Wretched ſcribbler.
2. Worthleſs fellow.
3. Vile incendiary.
4. Falſe liar, *in oppoſition to a true one.*
5. Snarler.
6. Contemptible thing.
7. Abandoned tool of oppoſition, and diabolical miſcreant.
8. Impudent ſcurrilous wretch.
9. Raſcal and ſcoundrel, *paſſim.*
10. Barking Cur; *by way of diſtinction from*
11. Barking animal; cum multis aliis.

To all which I ſhall only ſay, that his lordſhip's arguments are upon a level with his politeneſs.

P. S. I acknowledge a miſtake the moment I perceive it. I have advanced the tranſaction between lord H. and Sir J. A. too forward by one compleat week. But the days of the week, the facts, and the order in which they ſucceeded one another, are the ſame. You ſee plainly that my arguments are not affected by this miſtake. If they had, I ſhould have acknowledged it without heſitation. *To*

To the Earl of H——h.

My Lord,

PERMIT me to have the honour of introducing you to a very amiable and valuable acquaintance. Mr.—is the gentleman I mean. Your lordſhip will forgive the timidity and baſhfulneſs of his firſt addreſs, and, conſidering your quality, condeſcend to make him ſome advances. There is a ſimilarity in your circumſtances, to ſay nothing of your virtues and underſtanding, which may lay the foundation of a ſolid friendſhip between you for the reſt of your lives. Undoubtedly you are not quite unacquainted with a character, on which you appear to have formed your own. His caſe was ſingular, my lord, and cannot fail of exciting ſome emotions of ſympathy in your lordſhip's breaſt. This worthy man found himſelf expoſed to a moſt malicious perſecution for perjury. A profligate jury found him guilty, and a cruel judge pronounced his ſentence of impriſonment, pillory, and tranſportation. His mind was a good deal diſtreſſed in the courſe of this affair (for he too is a man of delicate feelings) but his character, like yours, was above the reach of malice. Not to keep your lordſhip any longer in pain, I have the pleaſure of telling you that, when law and juſtice had done their worſt, a lady, in whom he ſeldom places any confidence at cards, was generous enough to ſtand his friend. Fortune diſcovered a flaw in the indictment; and now, my lord, in ſpite of an iniquitous proſecution, in ſpite of conviction and ſentence, he ſtands as fair in his reputation as ever he did. Your lordſhip will naturally be ſtruck with the reſemblance between your caſe and his. Facts were ſo particularly ſtated againſt you, that they could not be denied;—the order, in which they happened, was demonſtrated, and ſentence pronounced by the public. The affair was over, when up gets Tommy Ford,

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and diſcovers that the whole tranſaction paſſed in the laſt week of July inſtead of the firſt in Auguſt. This miſtake, as it brought the object nearer to us, I called *advancing*. In your lordſhip's country I preſume it may be properly called a retreat. Here however the compariſon ends. Your friend eſcaped by a form of law. But you, my Lord, have been tried at a tribunal of honour and equity. The public, who are your judges, will not ſuffer *my* miſtake (however it may prove the badneſs of my heart to acknowledge it) to quaſh the indictment againſt you. You are convicted of having done a baſe and fooliſh action, in a manner moſt deſpicable and abſurd. Your puniſhment attends you in the contempt and deteſtation of mankind.

Your lordſhip has been pleaſed to publiſh a long letter in the Gazetteer, to prove that all Sir Jeffery Amherſt's military ſervices are a mere fiction. You did not ſign it indeed, becauſe you had lately ſigned another, containing the moſt expreſs and authentic acknowledgment of thoſe ſervices, in a ſtile of applauſe, not very diſtant from flattery. You will not now it ſeems allow him any ſhare in the reduction of Louiſbourg, or the conqueſt of Canada. Perhaps after all he never was in America. I am not a ſoldier, my lord, nor will I pretend to determine, what ſhare of honour a general is entitled to for ſucceſs, who muſt have borne the whole blame and diſgrace, if he had failed. Had the event been unfavourable, his officers, I dare ſay, would have been willing enough to yield *their* concern in it to their commander in chief. As to the reſt, I have heard from military men, that the udgment and capacity, which make reſiſtance ſeleſs or impracticable, is rated much higher han even the reſolution which overcomes it. When ou, my lord, and Mr. — are forgotten, this ountry will remember with gratitude, that Sir effery Amherſt had the honour of making ſixteen

French

French battalions priſoners of war—that he carried on the whole war in America at an expence leſs than the fortunes, which ſome individuals had acquired by contract and management in Germany ; —and that he *did not* put the ſavings into his own pocket.

If a britiſh peerage be too high a reward for theſe ſervices, at leaſt do him juſtice. Do not aſſure the public that he was not contented with a revenue of four thouſand pounds a year, when you know that the income of his government and two regiments, did not exceed two thouſand three hundred, and that, until he was poſitively outraged, he never complained. As I profeſs dealing in facts, take the account.

Government of Virginia	1500
Fifteenth regiment	600
Commandant of the 60th	200
	2300

As to a peerage, you would have done well to conſider upon what ſort of people this honour has been conferred for ten years paſt. Among the reſt, we ſhould be glad to know what were your lordſhip's ſervices or merits, when you were created baron of Harwich. I take for granted that they were of a different complexion from thoſe of Sir J. A. ſince they have been ſo differently rewarded.

Here I ſhall conclude. You have ſent Sir Jeffery Amherſt to the plough. You have left him poor in every article of which a falſe fawning Miniſter could deprive him ; — but you have left him rich in the eſteem, the love and veneration of his country. You cannot now recall him by any offer of wealth or honours. Yet I foretell that time will come, when you yourſelf will be the cauſe of his return. Proceed, my lord, as you have began, and you will ſoon reduce this country to an extremity, in which the wiſeſt and beſt ſubjects *muſt* be called upon, and *muſt* be employed. Till then enjoy your triumph.

LUCIUS.

The Correſpondence between JUNIUS *and Sir* WILLIAM DRAPER, *Knight of the Bath.*

To the PRINTER.

SIR, *Jan.* 21, 1769.

THE ſubmiſſion of a free people to the executive authority of government is no more than a compliance with laws, which they themſelves have enacted. While the national honour is firmly maintained abroad, and while juſtice is impartially adminiſtered at home, the obedience of the ſubject will be voluntary, chearful, and I might almoſt ſay, unlimited. A generous nation is grateful even for the preſervation of it's rights, and willingly extends the reſpect due to the office of a good prince into an affection for his perſon. Loyalty, in the heart and underſtanding of an Engliſhman, is a national attachment to the guardian of the laws. Prejudices and paſſion have ſometimes carried it to a criminal length; and, whatever foreigners may imagine, we know that Engliſhmen have erred as much in a miſtaken zeal for particular perſons and families, as they ever did in defence of what they thought moſt dear and intereſting to themſelves.

It naturally fills us with reſentment, to ſee ſuch a temper inſulted or abuſed. In reading the hiſtory of a free people, whoſe rights have been invaded, we are intereſted in their cauſe. Our own feelings tell us how long they ought to have ſubmitted, and at what moment it would have

been treachery to themſelves not to have reſiſted. How much warmer will be our reſentment, if experience ſhould bring the fatal example home to ourſelves !

The ſituation of this country is alarming enough to rouze the attention of every man, who pretends to a concern for the public welfare. Appearances juſtify ſuſpicion, and when the ſafety of a nation is at ſtake, ſuſpicion is a juſt ground of enquiry. Let us enter into it with candour and decency. Reſpect is due to the ſtation of miniſters ; and, if a reſolution muſt at laſt be taken, there is none ſo likely to be ſupported with firmneſs, as that which has been adopted with moderation.

The ruin or proſperity of a ſtate depends ſo much upon the adminiſtration of it's government, that, to be acquainted with the merit of a miniſtry, we need only obſerve the condition of the people. If we ſee them obedient to the laws, proſperous in their induſtry, united at home, and reſpected abroad, we may reaſonably preſume their affairs are conducted by men of experience, abilities and virtue. If, on the contrary, we ſee an univerſal ſpirit of diſtruſt and diſſatisfaction, a rapid decay of trade, diſſenſions in all parts of the empire, and a total loſs of reſpect in the eyes of foreign powers, we may pronounce, without heſitation, that the government of that country is weak, diſtracted, and corrupt. The multitude, in all countries, are patient to a certain point. Ill-uſage may rouze their indignation, and hurry them into exceſſes, but the original fault is in government. Perhaps, there never was an inſtance of a change, in the circumſtances and temper of a whole nation, ſo ſudden and extraordinary as

that

that which the miſconduct of miniſters has, within theſe very few years, produced in Great Britain. When our gracious Sovereign aſcended the throne, we were a flouriſhing and a contented people. If the perſonal virtues of a King could have inſured the happineſs of his ſubjects, the ſcene could not have altered ſo entirely as it has done. The idea of uniting all parties, of trying all characters, and diſtributing the offices of ſtate by rotation, was gracious and benevolent to an extreme, though it has not yet produced the many ſalutary effects, which was intended by it. To ſay nothing of the wiſdom of ſuch plan, it undoubtedly aroſe from an unbounded goodneſs of heart, in which folly had no ſhare. It was not a capricious partiality to new faces;—it was not a natural turn for low intrigue; nor was it the treacherous amuſement of double and triple negociations. No, Sir, it aroſe from a continued anxiety in the pureſt of all poſſible hearts, for the general welfare. Unfortunately for us, the event has not been anſwerable to the deſign. After a rapid ſucceſſion of changes, we are reduced to that ſtate, which hardly any change can mend. Yet there is no extremity of diſtreſs, which of itſelf ought to reduce a great nation to deſpair. It is not the diſorder but the phyſician;—it is not a caſual concurrence of calamitous circumſtances, it is the pernicious hand of government, which alone can make a whole people deſperate.

Without much political ſagacity, or any extraordinary depth of obſervation, we need only mark how the principal departments of the ſtate are beſtowed, and look no farther for the true cauſe of every miſchief that befals us.

The finances of a nation, finking under it's debts and expences, are committed to a young nobleman already ruined by play. Introduced to act under the auſpices of Lord C——m, and left at the head of affairs by that nobleman's retreat, he became miniſter by accident: but deſerting the principles and profeſſions, which gave him a moment's popularity, we ſee him, from every honourable engagement to the public, an apoſtate by deſign. As for buſineſs, the world knows yet nothing of his talents or reſolution; unleſs a wayward, wavering inconſiſtency be a mark of genius, and caprice a demonſtration of ſpirit. It may be ſaid, perhaps, that it is his grace's province, as ſurely it is his paſſion, rather to diſtribute than to ſave the public money, and that whilſt Lord N—— is C——r of the E——r, the firſt Lord of the T———y may be as thoughtleſs and as extravagant as he pleaſes. I hope, however, he will not rely too much on the fertility of Lord N——'s genius for finance. His lordſhip is yet to give us the firſt proof of his abilities: It may be candid to ſuppoſe that he has hitherto, voluntarily, concealed his talents; intending, perhaps, to aſtoniſh the world, when we leaſt expect it, with a knowledge of trade, a choice of expedients, and a depth of reſources, equal to the neceſſities, and far beyond the hopes of his country. He muſt now exert the whole power of his capacity, if he would wiſh us to forget, that ſince he has been in office, no plan has been formed, no ſyſtem adhered to, nor any one important meaſure adopted for the relief of public credit. If his plan for the ſervice of the current year be not irrevocably fixed on, let me warn him to think ſeriouſly of conſequences before he

ventures

ventures to increaſe the public debt. Outraged and oppreſſed as we are, this nation will not bear, after a ſix years peace, to ſee new millions borrowed, without any eventual diminution of debt, or reduction of intereſt. The attempt might rouze a ſpirit of reſentment, which might reach beyond the ſacrifice of a miniſter. As to the debt upon the civil liſt, the people of England expect that it will not be paid without a ſtrict enquiry how it was incurred. If it muſt be paid by parliament, let me adviſe the C——r of the E——r to think of ſome better expedient than a lottery. To ſupport an expenſive war, or in circumſtances of abſolute neceſſity, a lottery perhaps may be allowable; but, beſides that it is at all times the very worſt way of raiſing money upon the people, I think it ill becomes the R—l dignity to have the debts of a —— provided for, like the repairs of a country bridge or a decayed hoſpital. The management of the K—g's affairs in the H—— of C—— cannot be more diſgraced than it has been. A leading miniſter repeatedly called down for abſolute ignorance;—ridiculous motions ridiculouſly withdrawn;—deliberate plans diſconcerted, and a week's preparation of graceful oratory loſt in a moment, give us ſome, though not adequate idea of Lord N——'s parliamentary abilities and influence. Yet before he had the misfortune to be C—— of the E——r, he was neither an object of deriſion to his enemies nor of melancholy pity to his friends.

A ſeries of inconſiſtent meaſures had alienated the colonies from their duty as ſubjects, and from their natural affection to their common country. When Mr. Grenville was placed at the head of the T———y, he felt the impoſſibility of Great Britain's

Britain's ſupporting ſuch an eſtabliſhment as her former ſucceſſes had made indiſputable, and at the ſame time, of giving any ſenſible relief to foreign trade and to the weight of the public debt. He thought it equitable that thoſe parts of the empire, which had benefited moſt by the expences of the war, ſhould contribute ſomething to the peace, and he had no doubt of the conſtitutional right veſted in parliament to raiſe that contribution. But unfortunately for this country, Mr. Grenville was at any rate to be diſtreſſed becauſe he was miniſter, and Mr. P—t and Lord C——n were to be the patrons of America, becauſe they were in oppoſition. Their declaration gave ſpirit and argument to the colonies, and while perhaps they meant no more than the ruin of a miniſter, they in effect divided the one half of the empire from the other.

Under one adminiſtration the ſtamp act is made, under the ſecond it is repealed, under the third, in ſpite of all experience, a new mode of taxing the colonies is invented, and a queſtion revived, which ought to have been buried in oblivion. In theſe circumſtances, a new office is eſtabliſhed for the buſineſs of the plantations, and the Earl of H———h called forth, at a moſt critical ſeaſon, to govern America. The choice at leaſt announced to us a man of ſuperior capacity and knowledge. Whether he be ſo or not, let his diſpatches, as far as they have appeared, let his meaſures, as far as they have operated, determine for him. In the former, we have ſeen ſtrong aſſertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent cenſures without dignity or moderation ; but neither correctneſs in the compoſition, nor judgment in the deſign. As for his meaſures,

meaſures, let it be remembered that he was called upon to conciliate and unite ; and that when he entered into office, the moſt refractory of the colonies were ſtill diſpoſed to proceed by the conſtitutional methods of petition and remonſtrance. Since that period, they have been driven into exceſſes little ſhort of rebellion. Petitions have been hindered from reaching the throne ; and the continuance of one of the principal aſſemblies put upon an arbitrary condition, which, conſidering the temper they were in, it was impoſſible they ſhould comply with, and which would have availed nothing as to the general queſtion if it had been complied with. So violent, and I believe I may call it ſo unconſtitutional an exertion of the prerogative, to ſay nothing of the weak, injudicious terms in which it was conveyed, give us as humble an opinion of his lordſhip's capacity, as it does of his temper and moderation. While we are at peace with other nations, our military force may perhaps be ſpared to ſupport the Earl of H———h's meaſures in America. Whenever that force ſhall be neceſſarily withdrawn or diminiſhed, the diſmiſſion of ſuch a miniſter will neither conſole *us* for his imprudence, nor remove the ſettled reſentment of a people, who, complaining of an act of the legiſlature, are outraged by an unwarrantable ſtretch of prerogative, and, ſupporting their claims by argument, are inſulted with declamation.

Drawing lots would be a prudent and reaſonable method of appointing the officers of ſtate, compared to a late diſpoſition of the ſecretary's office. Lord R——d was acquainted with the affairs and temper of the ſouthern courts : Lord

W——h

W——h was equally qualified for either department. By what unaccountable caprice has it happened, that the latter, who pretends to no experience whatſoever, is removed to the moſt important of the two departments, and the former by preference placed in an office, where his experience can be of no uſe to him? Lord W——h had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in his firſt employment by a ſpirited, if not judicious conduct. He had animated the civil magiſtrate beyond the tone of civil authority, and had directed the operations of the army to more than military execution. Recovered from the errors of his youth, from the diſtraction of play, and the bewitching ſmiles of Burgundy, behold him exerting the whole ſtrength of his clear, unclouded faculties in the ſervice of the crown. It was not the heat of midnight exceſſes, nor ignorance of the laws, nor the furious ſpirit of the houſe of B——d: No, Sir, when this reſpectable miniſter interpoſed his authority between the magiſtrate and the people, and ſigned the mandate, on which, for ought he knew, the lives of thouſands depended, he did it from the deliberate motion of his heart, ſupported by the beſt of his judgment.

It has lately been a faſhion to pay a compliment to the bravery and generoſity of the c——r in ch——, at the expence of his underſtanding. Thy who love him leaſt, make no queſtion of his courage, while his friends dwell chiefly on the facility of his diſpoſition. Admitting him to be as brave as a total abſence of all feeling and reflection can make him, let us ſee what ſort of merit he derives from the remainder of his character. If it be generoſity to accumulate in his own perſon and family a number of lucrative employments;

ments ; to provide, at the public expence, for every creature that bears the name of M——rs ; and neglecting the merit and ſervices of the reſt of the army, to heap promotions upon his favourites and dependants, the preſent c——r in ch—— is the moſt generous man alive. Nature has been ſparing of her gifts to this noble lord ; but where birth and fortune are united, we expect the noble pride and independence of a man of ſpirit, not the ſervile humiliating compliances of a courtier. As to the goodneſs of his heart, if a proof of it be taken from the facility of never refuſing, what concluſion ſhall we draw from the indecency of never performing ? And if the diſcipline of the army be in any degree preſerved, what thanks are due to a man, whoſe cares, notoriouſly confined to filling up vacancies, have degraded the office of c——r in ch—— into a broker of commiſſions ?

With reſpect to the navy, I ſhall only ſay, that this country is ſo highly indebted to Sir Edward Hawke, that no expence ſhould be ſpared to ſecure him an honourable and affluent retreat.

The pure and impartial adminiſtration of juſtice is perhaps the firmeſt bond to ſecure a chearful ſubmiſſion of the people, and to engage their affections to government. It is not ſufficient that queſtions of private right or wrong are juſtly decided, nor that judges are ſuperior to the vileneſs of pecuniary corruption. Jefferies himſelf, when the court had no intereſt, was an upright judge. A court of juſtice may be ſubject to another ſort of bias, more important and pernicious, as it reaches beyond the intereſt of individuals, and affects the whole community.—A judge, under the influence of government, may be honeſt enough

in the deciſion of private cauſes, yet a traitor to the public. When a victim is marked out by the miniſtry, this judge will offer himſelf to perform the ſacrifice. He will not ſcruple to proſtitute his dignity, and betray the ſanctity of his office, whenever an arbitrary point is to be carried for g———t, or the reſentments of a c——t to be gratified.

Theſe principles and proceedings, odious and contemptible as they are, in effect are no leſs injudicious. A wiſe and generous people are rouſed by every appearance of oppreſſive, unconſtitutional meaſures, whether thoſe meaſures are ſupported openly by the power of g———t, or maſked under the forms of a c———t of j—ſt—e. Prudence and ſelf-preſervation will oblige the moſt moderate diſpoſitions to make common cauſe, even with a man whoſe conduct they cenſure, if they ſee him perſecuted in a way which the real ſpirit of the laws will not juſtify. The facts on which theſe marks are founded, are too notorious to require an application.

This, Sir, is the detail. In one view, behold, a nation overwhelmed with debt;—her revenues waſted;—her trade declining;—the affections of her colonies alienated;—the duty of the magiſtrate transferred to the ſoldiery;—a gallant army, which never fought unwillingly but againſt their fellow ſubjects, mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and ſpirit;—and, in the laſt inſtance, the adminiſtration of juſtice become odious and ſuſpected to the whole body of the people. This deplorable ſcene admits but of one addition,—that we are governed by counſels, from which a reaſonable man can expect no remedy but poiſon, no relief but death.

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If by the immediate interpoſition of Providence it were poſſible for us to eſcape a criſis ſo full of terror and deſpair poſterity will not believe the hiſtory of the preſent times. They will either conclude that our diſtreſſes were imaginary, or that we had the good fortune to be governed by men of acknowledged integrity and wiſdom: They will not believe it poſſible, that their anceſtors could have ſurvived, or recovered from ſo deſperate a condition, while a Duke of G——n was prime miniſter,—a Lord N—— chancellor of the exchequer,—a W——th and a H——h ſecretaries of ſtate,—a G——y commander in chief,—and a M——d chief criminal judge of the kingdom.

JUNIUS.

An anſwer to the foregoing, by Sir William Draper, *Knight of the Bath.*

SIR, *Cliſton, Jan.* 26, 1769.

THE kingdom ſwarms with ſuch numbers of felonious robbers of private character and virtue, that no honeſt or good man is ſafe; eſpecially as theſe cowardly baſe aſſaſſins ſtab in the dark, without having the courage to ſign their real names to their malevolent and wicked productions. A writer who ſigns himſelf Junius, in the Public Advertiſer of the 21ſt inſtant, opens the deplorable ſituation of his country in a very affecting manner: with a pompous parade of his candour and decency, he tells us, that we ſee diſſenſions in all parts of the empire, and univerſal

ſpirit of diſtruſt and diſſatisfaction, and a total loſs of reſpect towards us in the eyes of foreign powers. But this writer, with all his boaſted candor, has not told us the real cauſe of the evils he ſo pathetically enumerates. I ſhall take the liberty to explain the cauſe for him. Junius, and ſuch writers as himſelf, occaſion all the miſchief complained of, by falſely and maliciouſly traducing the beſt characters in the kingdom. For when our deluded people at home, and foreigners abroad, read the poiſonous and inflammatory libels that are daily publiſhed with impunity, to vilify thoſe who are any way diſtinguiſhed by their good qualities and eminent virtues: when they find no notice taken of, or reply given to theſe ſlanderous tongues and pens, their concluſion is, that both the miniſters and the nation have been fairly deſcribed, and they act accordingly. I think it therefore the duty of every good citizen to ſtand forth, and endeavour to undeceive the public, when the vileſt arts are made uſe of to defame and blacken the brighteſt characters among us. An eminent author affirms it to be almoſt as criminal to hear a worthy man traduced without attempting his juſtification, as to be the author of the calumny againſt him. For my own part, I think it a ſort of miſpriſion of treaſon againſt ſociety. No man therefore who knows Lord Granby, can poſſibly hear ſo good and great a character moſt vilely abuſed, without a warm and juſt indignation againſt this Junius, this high prieſt of envy, malice, and all uncharitableneſs, who has endeavoured to ſacrifice our beloved commander in chief at the altars of his horrid deities. Nor is the injury done to his lordſhip alone, but to the whole nation, which

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may too ſoon feel the contempt, and conſequently the attacks of our late enemies, if they can be induced to believe, that the perſon on whom the ſafety of theſe kingdoms ſo much depends, is unequal to his high ſtation, and deſtitute of thoſe qualities which form a good general. One would have thought that his lordſhip's ſervices in the cauſe of his country, from the battle of Culloden to his moſt glorious concluſion of the late war, might have intitled him to common reſpect and decency at leaſt; but this uncandid indecent writer has gone ſo far as to turn one of the moſt amiable men of the age into a ſtupid, unfeeling and ſenſeleſs being; poſſeſſed indeed of a perſonal courage, but void of thoſe eſſential qualities which diſtinguiſh the commander from the common ſoldier.

A very long, uninterrupted, impartial, I will add, a moſt diſintereſted friendſhip with Lord Granby, gives me the right to affirm, that all Junius's aſſertions are falſe and ſcandalous. Lord Granby's courage, though of the brighteſt and moſt ardent kind, is among the loweſt of his numerous good qualities; he was formed to excel in war by nature's liberality to his mind as well as perſon. Educated and inſtructed by his moſt noble father, and a moſt ſpirited as well as excellent ſcholar, the preſent Biſhop of Bangor, he was trained to the niceſt ſenſe of honour, and to the trueſt and nobleſt ſort of pride, that of never doing or ſuffering a mean action, A ſincere love and attachment to his King and country, and to their glory, firſt impelled him to the field, where he never gained ought but honour. He impaired, through his bounty, his own fortune; for his bounty, which this writer would in vain depre-

ciate,

ciate, is founded upon the nobleſt of the human affections, it flows from a heart melting to goodneſs from the moſt refined humanity. Can a man, who is deſcribed as unfeeling, and void of reflection, be conſtantly employed in ſeeking proper objects on whom to exerciſe thoſe glorious virtues of compaſſion and generoſity? The diſtreſſed officer, the ſoldier, the widow, the orphan, and a long liſt beſides, know that vanity has no ſhare in his frequent donations; he gives, becauſe he feels their diſtreſſes. Nor has he ever been rapacious with one hand to be bountiful with the other; yet this uncandid Junius would inſinuate, that the dignity of the commander in chief is depraved into the baſe office of a commiſſion broker; that is, Lord Granby bargains for the ſale of commiſſions; for it muſt have this meaning, if it has any at all. But where is the man living who can juſtly charge his lordſhip with ſuch mean practices? Why does not Junius produce him? Junius knows that he has no other means of wounding this hero, than from ſome miſſile weapon, ſhot from an obſcure corner: He ſeeks, as all ſuch defamatory writers do,

——— ſpargere voces
In vulgum ambiguas ———

to raiſe ſuſpicion in the minds of the people. But I hope that my countrymen will be no longer impoſed upon by artful and deſigning men, or by wretches, who, bankrupts in buſineſs, in fame and in fortune, mean nothing more than to involve this country in the ſame common ruin with themſelves. Hence it is, that they are conſtantly aiming their dark and too often fatal weapons againſt thoſe who ſtand forth as the bulwark

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of our national ſafety. Lord Granby was too conſpicuous a mark not to be their object. He is next attacked for being unfaithful to his promiſes and engagements: Where are Junius's proofs? Although I could give ſome inſtances, where a breach of promiſe would be a virtue, eſpecially in the caſe of thoſe who would pervert the open, unſuſpecting moments of convivial mirth, into ſly, inſidious applications for preferment, or party ſyſtems, and would endeavour to ſurprize a good man, who cannot bear to ſee any one leave him diſſatisfied, into unguarded promiſes. L—d G——by's attention to his own family and relations, is called ſelfiſh. Had he not attended to them, when fair and juſt opportunities preſented themſelves, I ſhould have thought him unfeeling, and void of reflection indeed. How are any man's friends or relations to be provided for, but from the influence and protection of the patron? It is unfair to ſuppoſe that Lord Granby's friends have not as much merit as the friends of any other great man: If he is generous at the public expence, as Junius invidiouſly calls it, the public is at no more expence for his lordſhip's friends, than it would be, if any other ſet of men poſſeſſed thoſe offices. The charge is ridiculous!

The laſt charge againſt Lord Granby is of a moſt ſerious and alarming nature indeed. Junius aſſerts, that the army is mouldering away for want of the direction of a man of common abilities and ſpirit. The preſent condition of the army gives the directeſt lie to his aſſertions. It was never upon a more reſpectable footing with regard to diſcipline, and all the eſſentials that can form good ſoldiers. Lord Ligonier delivered a firm and noble palladium of our ſafeties into Lord

Granby's

Granby's hands, who has kept it in the ſame good order in which he received it. The ſtricteſt care has been taken to fill up the vacant commiſſions with ſuch gentlemen as have the glory of their anceſtors to ſupport, as well as their own, and are doubly bound to the cauſe of their King and country, from motives of private property, as well as public ſpirit. The adjutant general, who has the immediate care of the troops, after Lord Granby, is an officer who would do great honour to any ſervice in Europe, for his correct arrangements, good ſenſe and diſcernment upon all occaſions, and for a punctuality and preciſion which give the moſt entire ſatisfaction to all who are obliged to conſult him. The reviewing generals, who inſpect the army twice a year, have been ſelected with the greateſt care, and have anſwered the important truſt repoſed in them in the moſt laudable manner. Their reports of the condition of the army are much more to be credited than thoſe of Junius, whom I do adviſe to atone for his ſhameful aſperſions, by aſking pardon of Lord Granby, and the whole kingdom, whom he has offended by his abominable ſcandals. In ſhort, to turn Junius's own battery againſt him, I muſt aſſert in his own words, "that he has given ſtrong aſſertions without proof, declamation without argument, and violent cenſures without dignity or moderation."

WILLIAM DRAPER.

To Sir William Draper, *Knight of the Bath.*

SIR,

YOUR defence of Lord G———y does honour to the goodneſs of your heart. You feel, as you ought to do, for the reputation of your friend, and you expreſs yourſelf in the warmeſt language of the paſſions. In any other cauſe, I doubt not, you would have cautiouſly weighed the conſequences of committing your name to the licentious diſcourſes and malignant opinions of the world. But here, I preſume, you thought it would be a breach of friendſhip to loſe one moment in conſulting your underſtanding; as if an appeal to the public were no more than a military *coup de main*, where a brave man has no rules to follow, but the dictates of his courage. Touched with your generoſity, I freely forgive the exceſſes into which it has led you; and, far from reſenting thoſe terms of reproach, which, conſidering that you are an advocate for decorum, you have heaped upon me rather too liberally, I place them to the account of an honeſt unreflecting indignation, in which your cooler judgment and natural politeneſs had no concern. I approve of the ſpirit, with which you have given your name to the public; and, if it were a proof of any thing but ſpirit, I ſhould have thought myſelf bound to follow your example. I ſhould have hoped that even *my* name might carry ſome authority with it, if I had not ſeen how very little weight or conſideration a printed paper receives even from the reſpectable ſignature of Sir William Draper.

You begin with a general aſſertion that writers, ſuch as I am, are the real cauſe of all the public evils we complain of. And do you really think, Sir William, that the licentious pen of a political writer is able to produce ſuch important effects? A little calm reflection might have ſhewn you, that national calamities do not ariſe from the deſcription, but from the real character and conduct of miniſters. To have ſupported your aſſertion, you ſhould have proved that the preſent miniſtry are unqueſtionably the *beſt and righteſt* characters of the kingdom; and that, if the affections of the colonies have been alienated, if Corſica has been ſhamefully abandoned, if commerce languiſhes, if public credit is threatened with a new debt, and your own Manilla ranſom moſt diſhonourably given up, it has all been owing to the malice of political writers, who will not ſuffer the beſt and brighteſt of characters (meaning ſtill the preſent miniſtry) to take a ſingle right ſtep for the honour or intereſt of the nation. But it ſeems you were a little tender of coming to particulars. Your conſcience inſinuated to you, that it would be prudent to leave the characters of G——n, N——th, H——gh, W——th, and M——d, to ſhift for themſelves; and truly, Sir William, the part you *have* undertaken is at leaſt as much as you are equal to.

Without diſputing Lord G——'s courage, we are yet to learn in what articles of military knowledge nature has been ſo very liberal to his mind. If you have ſerved with him, you ought to have pointed out ſome inſtances of able diſpoſition and well-concerted enterprize, which might fairly be attributed to his capacity as a General. It is you, Sir William, who make your friend appear auk-

ward

ward and ridiculous, by giving him a laced ſuit of tawdry qualifications, which nature never intended him to wear.

You ſay, he has acquired nothing but honour in the field. Is the ordnance nothing? Are the blues nothing? Is the command of the army, with all the patronage annexed to it, nothing? Where he got theſe *nothings* I know not; but you at leaſt ought to have told us where he deſerved them.

As to his bounty, compaſſion, &c. it would have been but little to the purpoſe, though you had proved all that you have aſſerted. I meddle with nothing but his character as c——r in c—, and though I acquit him of the baſeneſs of ſelling commiſſions, I ſtill aſſert that his military cares have never extended beyond the diſpoſal of vacancies; and I am juſtified by the complaints of the whole army, when I ſay that, in this diſtribution, he conſults nothing but p——y intereſts, or the gratification of his immediate dependants. As to his ſervile ſubmiſſion of the reigning miniſtry, let me aſk, whether he did not deſert the cauſe of the whole army, when he ſuffered Sir Jeffery Amherſt to be ſacrified, and what ſhare he had in recalling that officer to the ſervice? Did he not betray the juſt intereſt of the army, in permitting Lord P——y to have a regiment? and does he not at this moment give up all character and dignity as a gentleman, in receding from his own repeated declarations in favour of Mr. Wilkes.

In the two next articles I think we are agreed. You candidly admit, that he often makes ſuch promiſes as it is a virtue in him to violate, and that no man is more aſſiduous to provide for his rela-

tions at the public expence. I did not urge the laſt as an abſolute vice in his diſpoſition, but to prove that a *careleſs diſintereſted ſpirit* is no part of his character; and as to the other, I deſire it may be remembered that *I* never deſcended to the indecency of inquiring into his *convivial hours*. It is you, Sir William Draper, who have taken pains to repreſent your friend in the character of a drunken landlord, who deals out his promiſes as liberally as his liquor, and will ſuffer no man to leave his table either ſorrowful or ſober. None but an intimate friend, who muſt frequently have ſeen him in theſe unhappy diſgraceful moments, could have deſcribed him ſo well.

The laſt charge, of the neglect of the army, is indeed the moſt material of all. I am ſorry to tell you, Sir William, that in this article, your firſt fact is falſe, and as there is nothing more painful to me than to give a direct contradiction to a gentleman of your appearance, I could with that, in your future publications, you would pay a greater attention to the truth of your premiſes, before you ſuffer your genius to hurry you to a concluſion. Lord Ligonier *did not* deliver the army (which you, in a claſſical language, are pleaſed to call a Palladium) into Lord G——by's hands. It was taken from him, much againſt his inclination, ſome two or three years before Lord G——y was commander in chief. As to the ſtate of the army, I ſhould be glad to know, where you have received your intelligence. Was it in the rooms at Bath, or at your retreat at Clifton? The reports of reviewing generals comprehend only a few regiments in England, which, as they are immediately under the royal inſpection, are perhaps in ſome tolerable order. But do you

know

know any thing of the troops in the Weſt Indies, the Mediterranean, and North America, to ſay nothing of a whole army abſolutely ruined in Ireland? Inquire a little into facts, Sir William, before you publiſh your next panegyric upon Lord G——y, and believe me you will find there is a fault at head quarters, which even the acknowledged care and abilities of the Adjutant General cannot correct.

Permit me now, Sir William, to addreſs myſelf perſonally to you, by way of thanks for the honour of your correſpondence. You are by no means undeſerving of notice; and it may be of conſequence even to Lord G——y to have it determined, whether or no the man who has praiſed him ſo laviſhly, be himſelf deſerving of praiſe. When you returned to Europe, you zealouſly undertook the cauſe of that gallant army, by whoſe bravery at Manilla your own fortunes had been eſtabliſhed. You complained, you threatened, you even appealed to the public in print. By what accident did it happen, that in the midſt of all this buſtle, and theſe clamours for juſtice to your injured troops, the name of the Manilla ranſom was ſuddenly buried in a profound, and, ſince that time, an uninterrupted ſilence? Did the Miniſtry ſuggeſt any motives to you, ſtrong enough to tempt a man of honour to deſert and betray the cauſe of his fellow ſoldiers? Was it that bluſhing ribband, which is now the perpetual ornament of your perſon? or was it that regiment, which you afterwards (a thing unprecedented among ſoldiers) ſold to Colonel Gifborne? or was it that government, the full pay of which you are contented to hold, with the half-pay of an Iriſh Colonel? And do you now, after a retreat

a retreat not very like that of Scipio, preſume to intrude yourſelf, unthought of, uncalled for, upon the patience of the public? Are your flatteries of the c——r in ch—— directed to another regiment, which you may again diſpoſe of on the ſame honourable terms? We know your prudence, Sir William, and I ſhould be ſorry to ſtop your preferment.

JUNIUS.

The following ſhort but curious paper ought not to be omitted.

Clifton, Feb. 6, 1769.

IF the voice of a well meaning individual could be heard amid the clamour, fury, and madneſs of the times, would it appear too raſh and preſumptuous to propoſe to the public, that an act of indemnity and oblivion may be made for all paſt tranſactions and offences, as well with reſpect to Mr. Wilkes as to our colonies? Such ſalutary expedients have been embraced by the wiſeſt nations; ſuch expedients have been made uſe of by our own, when the public confuſions had arrived to ſome very dangerous and alarming criſis; and I believe it needs not the gift of prophecy to foretell, that ſome ſuch criſis is now approaching. Perhaps it will be more wiſe and praiſe-worthy to make ſuch an act immediately, in order to prevent the poſſibility, not to ſay the probability of an inſurrection at home, and in our dependencies abroad, than it will be to be obliged to have recourſe to one after the miſchief has been done, and the kingdom has groaned under all the miſeries that avarice, ambition, hypocriſy, and madneſs, could inflict upon it. An act of grace, indemnity, and oblivion, was paſſed upon the reſtoration of king Charles II. but I will venture to ſay, that had ſuch an act been ſeaſonably paſſed in the reign of his unhappy father, the civil war had been prevented, and no reſtoration had been neceſſary. Is it too late to recall the meſſengers and edicts of wrath! Cannot the money that is now waſted in endleſs and mutual proſecutions, and in ſtopping the mouth of one man, and in opening that of another, be better employed in erecting a temple to concord? Let Mr. Wilkes lay the firſt ſtone, and ſuch a ſtone as I hope the builders

To Junius.

SIR, *Clifton, Feb.* 10, 1769.

I Received Junius's favour laſt night; he is determined to keep his advantage by the help of his maſk; it is an excellent protection, it has ſaved many a man from an untimely end. But whenever he will be honeſt enough to lay it aſide, avow himſelf, and produce the face which has ſo long lurked behind it, the world will be able to judge of his motives for writing ſuch infamous invectives. His real name will diſcover his freedom and independency, or his ſervility to a faction. Diſappointed ambition, reſentment for defeated hopes, and deſire of revenge, aſſume but too often the appearance of public ſpirit; but be his deſigns wicked or charitable, Junius ſhould learn that it is poſſible to condemn meaſures, without a barbarous and criminal outrage againſt men. Junius delights to mangle carcaſes with a hatchet; his language and inſtrument have a great connection with Clare-market, and, to do him juſtice, he handles his weapon moſt admirably. One would imagine he had been taught to throw it by the ſavages of America. It is therefore high time for me to ſtep in once more to ſhield

ders will not refuſe. May this parliament, to uſe lord Clarendon's expreſſion, be called *The Healing Parliament!* May our foul wounds be cleanſed, and then cloſed! The Engliſh have been as famous for good nature as for valour; let it not be ſaid that ſuch qualities are degenerated into ſavage ferocity. If any of my friends in either houſe of legiſlature ſhall condeſcend to liſten to, and improve theſe hints, I ſhall think that I have not lived in vain.

William Draper.

ſhield my friend from this mercileſs weapon, although I may be wounded in the attempt. But I muſt firſt aſk Junius, by what forced analogy and conſtruction the moments of convivial mirth are made to ſignify indecency, a violation of engagements, a drunken landlord, and a deſire that every one in company ſhould be drunk likewiſe? He muſt have called all the flowers of St. Giles's and Billingſgate to have produced ſuch a piece of oratory. Here the hatchet deſcends with tenfold vengeance, but, alas! it hurts no one but it's maſter! For Junius muſt not think to put words into my mouth, that ſeem too foul even for his own.

My friend's political engagements I know not, ſo cannot pretend to explain them, or aſſert their conſiſtency. I know not whether Junius be conſiderable enough to belong to any party; if he ſhould be ſo, can he affirm that he has always adhered to one ſet of men and meaſures? Is he ſure that he has never ſided with thoſe whom he was firſt hired to abuſe? Has he never abuſed thoſe he was hired to praiſe? To ſay the truth, moſt men's politics ſit much too looſely about them. But as my friend's military character was the chief object that engaged me in this controverſy, to that I ſhall return.

Junius aſks what inſtances my friend has given of his military ſkill and capacity as a general? When and where he gained his honour? When he deſerved his emolument? The united voice of the army which ſerved under him, the glorious teſtimony of Prince Ferdinand, and of vanquiſhed enemies, all Germany will tell him. Junius repeats the complaints of the army againſt p———y influence. I love the army too well,

not

not to wiſh that ſuch influence were leſs. Let Junius point out the time when it has not prevailed. It was of the leaſt force in the time of that great man, the late Duke of Cumberland, who, as a prince of the blood, was able as well as willing to ſtem a torrent which would have overborne any private ſubject. In time of war this influence is ſmall. In peace, when diſcontent and faction have the ſureſt means to operate, eſpecially in this country, and when, from a ſcarcity of public ſpirit, the wheels of government are rarely moved, but by the power and force of obligations, it's weight is always too great: Yet if this influence at preſent has done no greater harm, than the placing Earl Percy at the head of a regiment, I do not think that either the rights or beſt intereſts of the army are ſacrificed and betrayed, or the nation undone. Let me aſk Junius, if he knows any one nobleman in the army, who has had a regiment by ſeniority? I feel myſelf happy in ſeeing young noblemen of illuſtrious name and great property come among us. They are an additional ſecurity to the kingdom from foreign or domeſtic ſlavery. Junius needs not be told, that ſhould the time ever come, when this nation is to be defended only by thoſe, who have nothing more to loſe than their arms and their pay, it's danger will be great indeed! A happy mixture of men of quality with ſoldiers of fortune is always to be wiſhed for. But the main point is ſtill to be contended for, I mean the diſcipline and condition of the army; and I ſtill muſt maintain, though contradicted by Junius, that it was never upon a more reſpectable footing, to all the eſſentials that can form good ſoldiers, than it is at preſent. Junius

is forced to allow that our army at home may be in ſome tolerable order; yet how kindly does he invite our late enemies to the invaſion of Ireland, by aſſuring them that the army in that kingdom is totally ruined! (The colonels of that army are much obliged to him.) I have too great an opinion of the military talents of the lord lieutenant, and of all their diligence and capacity, to believe it. If from the ſtrange, unaccountable fatality, the people of that kingdom cannot be induced to conſult their own ſecurity, by ſuch an effectual augmentation, as may enable the troops there to act with power and energy, is the commander in chief here to blame? Or is he to blame, becauſe the troops in the Mediterranean, in the Weſt Indies, in America, labour under great difficulties from the ſcarcity of men, which is but too viſible all over theſe kingdoms? Many of our forces are in climates unfavourable to Britiſh conſtitutions, their loſs is in proportion. Britain muſt recruit all theſe regiments from her own emaciated boſom, or more precariouſly, by Catholicks from Ireland. We are likewiſe ſubject to the fatal drains to the Eaſt Indies, to Senegal, and the alarming emigrations of our people to other countries: Such depopulation can only be repaired by a long peace, or by ſome ſenſible bill of naturalization.

I muſt now take the liberty to talk to Junius on my own account. He is pleaſed to tell me that he addreſſes himſelf to me *perſonally*. I ſhall be glad to ſee him. It is his *Imperſonality* that I complain of, and inviſible attacks: for his dagger in the air is only to be regarded, becauſe one cannot ſee the hand which holds it; but had he not wounded other people more deeply than my-

ſelf

ſelf, I ſhould not have obtruded myſelf at all on the patience of the public.

Mark how a plain tale ſhall put him down, and transfuſe the bluſh of my ribband into his cheeks. Junius tells me, that at my return, I zealouſly undertook the cauſe of the gallant army, by whoſe bravery at Manilla my own fortunes were eſtabliſhed; that I complained, that I even appealed to the public. I did ſo; I glory in having done ſo, as I had an undoubted right to vindicate my own character, attacked by a Spaniſh memorial, and to aſſert the rights of my brave companions. I glory likewiſe that I have never taken up my pen, but to vindicate the injured. Junius aſks by what accident did it happen, that in the midſt of all this buſtle, and all the clamours for juſtice to the injured troops, the Manilla ranſom was ſuddenly buried in a profound, and ſince that time, an uninterrupted ſilence? I will explain the cauſe to the public. The ſeveral miniſters who have been employed ſince that time have been very deſirous to do us juſtice from two moſt laudable motives, a ſtrong inclination to aſſiſt injured bravery, and to acquire a well-deſerved popularity to themſelves. Their efforts have been in vain. Some were ingenuous enough to own, that they could not think of involving this diſtreſſed nation in another war for our private concerns. In ſhort, our rights, for the preſent, are ſacrificed to national convenience; and I muſt confeſs, that although I may loſe five-and-twenty thouſand pounds by their acquieſcence to this breach of faith in the Spaniards, I think they are in the right to temporize, conſidering the critical ſituation of this country, convulſed in every part by poiſon infuſed by annonymous, wicked, and

incendiary writers. Lord Shelburne will do me the juſtice to own, that, in September laſt, I waited upon him with a joint memorial from the admiral Sir S. Corniſh and myſelf, in behalf of our injured companions. His lordſhip was as frank upon the occaſion as other ſecretaries had been before him. He did not deceive us by giving any immediate hopes of relief.

Junius would baſely inſinuate, that my ſilence may have been purchaſed by my government, by my *bluſhing* ribband, by my regiment, by the ſale of that regiment, and by half-pay as an Iriſh colonel.

His majeſty was pleaſed to give me my government for my ſervice at Madras. I had my firſt regiment in 1757. Upon my return from Manilla, his majeſty, by lord Egremont, informed me, that I ſhould have the firſt vacant red ribband, as a reward for my ſervices in an enterprize, which I had planned as well as executed. The Duke of Bedford and Mr. Grenville confirmed thoſe aſſurances many months before the Spaniards had proteſted the ranſom bills. To accommodate lord Clive, then going upon a moſt important ſervice to Bengal, I waved my claim to the vacancy which then happened. As there was no other vacancy until the duke of Grafton and lord Rockingham were joint miniſters, I was then honoured with the order, and it is ſurely no ſmall honour to me, that in ſuch a ſucceſſion of miniſters, they were all pleaſed to think that I had deſerved it; in my favour they were all united. Upon the reduction of the 79th regiment, which had ſerved ſo glorioufly in the Eaſt Indies, his majeſty, unſolicited by me, gave me the 16th of foot as an equivalent. My motives for retiring

afterwards

afterwards are foreign to the purpoſe; let it ſuffice, that his majeſty was pleaſed to approve of them; they are ſuch as no man can think indecent, who knows the ſhocks that repeated viciſſitudes of heat and cold, of dangerous and ſickly climates, will give to the beſt conſtitutions in a pretty long courſe of ſervice. I reſigned my regiment to colonel Giſborne, a very good officer, for his half-pay, 200l. Iriſh annuity; ſo that, according to Junius, I have been bribed to ſay nothing more of the Manilla ranſom, and ſacrifice thoſe brave men by the ſtrange avarice of accepting three hundred and eighty pound per ann. and giving up eight hundred! If this be bribery, it is not the bribery of theſe times. As to my flattery, thoſe who know me will judge of it. By the aſperity of Junius's ſtile, I cannot indeed call him a flatterer, unleſs it be as a cynick or a maſtiff; if he wags his tail, he will ſtill growl and long to bite. The public will now judge of the credit that ought to be given to Junius's writings, from the falſities that he has inſinuated with reſpect to myſelf.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

To Sir William Draper, *Knight of the Bath.*

SIR,

I Should juſtly be ſuſpected of acting upon motives of more than common enmity to Lord G——y, if I continued to give you freſh materials or occaſion for writing in his defence. Individuals who hate, and the public who deſpiſe, have

have read *your* Letters, Sir William, with infinitely more ſatisfaction than mine. Unfortunately for him, his reputation, like that unhappy country, to which you refer me for his laſt military atchievements, has ſuffered more by his friends than his enemies. In mercy to him let us drop the ſubject. For my own part, I willingly leave it to the public to determine whether your vindication of your friend has been as able and judicious, as it was certainly well intended; and you, I think, may be ſatisfied with the warm acknowledgements he already owes you for making him the principal figure in a piece, in which, but for your amicable aſſiſtance, he might have paſſed without particular notice or diſtinction.

In juſtice to your friends, let your future labours be confined to the care of your own reputation. Your declaration, that you are happy in ſeeing young noblemen *come among us*, is liable to two objections. With reſpect to Lord P——y, it means nothing, for he was already in the army. He was aid de camp to the King, and had the rank of colonel. A regiment therefore could not make him a more military man, though it made him richer, and probably at the expence of ſome brave, deſerving, friendleſs officer.—The other concerns himſelf. After ſelling the companions of your victory in one inſtance, and after ſelling your profeſſion in the other, by what authority do you preſume to call yourſelf a ſoldier? The plain evidence of facts is ſuperior to all declarations. Before you were appointed to the 16th regiment, your complaints were a diſtreſs to government;—from that moment you were ſilent. The concluſion is inevitable. You inſinuate to

us that your ill ſtate of health obliged you to quit the ſervice. The retirement neceſſary to repair a broken conſtitution would have been as good a reaſon for not accepting, as for reſigning the command of a regiment. There is certainly an error of the preſs, or an affected obſcurity in that paragraph, where you ſpeak of your bargain with colonel Giſborne. Inſtead of attemping to anſwer what I really do not underſtand, permit me to explain to the public what I really know. In exchange for your regiment, you accepted of a colonel's half pay (at leaſt 220 l. a year) and an annuity of 200 l. for your own and lady Draper's life jointly.—And this is the loſing bargain, which you would repreſent to us, as if you had given up an income of 800 l. a year for 380? Was it decent, was it honourable, in a man who pretends to love the army, and calls himſelf a ſoldier, to make a traffic of the royal favour, and to turn the higheſt honour of an active profeſſion into a ſordid proviſion for himſelf and his family? It were unworthy of me to preſs you farther. The contempt, with which the whole army heard of the manner of your retreat, aſſures me that as your conduct was not juſtified by precedent, it will never be thought an example for imitation.

The laſt and moſt important queſtion remains, When you receive your half pay, do you, or do you not, take a ſolemn oath, or ſign a declaration upon honour to the following effect? *That you do not actually hold any place of profit, civil or military, under his Majeſty.* The charge, which this queſtion plainly conveys againſt you, is of ſo ſhocking a complexion, that I ſincerely wiſh you may be

able

able to anſwer it well, not merely for the colour of your reputation, but for your own inward peace of mind.

JUNIUS.

P. S. I had determined to leave the C——r in Ch—— in the quiet enjoyment of his friend and his bottle; but Titus deſerves an anſwer, and ſhall have a compleat one.

To JUNIUS.

SIR, *Clifton, Feb.* 23, 1769.

I Have a very ſhort anſwer for Junius's queſtion: I do not either take an oath, or declare upon honour, that I have no *place* of profit *civil* or military, when I receive the half pay as an Iriſh colonel. My moſt gracious Sovereign gives it me as a penſion; he was pleaſed to think I deſerved it. The annuity of 200 l. Iriſh, and the equivalent for the half pay together, produces no more than 380 l. per annum, clear of fees and perquiſites of office. I receive 167 l. from my government of Yarmouth. Total 547 l. per annum. My conſcience is much at eaſe in theſe particulars; my friends need not bluſh for me.

Junius makes much and frequent uſe of interrogations: they are arms that may be eaſily turned againſt himſelf. I could by malicious interrogation diſturb the peace of the moſt virtuous man in the kingdom; I could take the decalogue, and ſay to one man, Did you never ſteal? To the next, Did you never commit murder? And to

Junius

Junius himſelf, who is putting my life and conduct to the rack, Did you never bear falſe witneſs againſt thy neighbour? Junius muſt eaſily ſee, that unleſs he affirms to the contrary in his real name, ſome people, who may be as ignorant of him as I am, will be apt to ſuſpect him of having deviated a little from the truth: therefore let Junius aſk no more queſtions. You bite againſt a file: ceaſe, viper.

W. D.

To Sir William Draper, *Knight of the Bath.*

SIR,

AN academical education has given you an unlimited command over the moſt beautiful figures of ſpeech. Maſks, hatchets, racks, and vipers dance thro' your letters in all mazes of metaphorical confuſion. Theſe are the gloomy companions of a diſturbed imagination;—the melancholy madneſs of poetry, without the inſpiration. I will not contend with you in point of compoſition. You are a ſcholar, Sir William, and, if I am truly informed, you write Latin with almoſt as much purity as Engliſh. Suffer me, then, for I am a plain unlettered man, to continue that ſtile of interrogation, which ſuits my capacity, and to which, conſidering the readineſs of your anſwers, you ought to have no objection. Even Mr. Bingley promiſes to anſwer, if put to the torture.

Do you then really think that, if I were to aſk a *moſt virtuous man* whether he ever committed

theft, or murder, it would diſturb his peace of mind? Such a queſtion might perhaps diſcompoſe the gravity of his muſcles, but I believe it would little affect the tranquillity of his conſcience. Examine your own breaſt, Sir William, and you will diſcover, that reproaches and inquiries have no power to afflict either the man of unblemiſhed integrity or the abandoned profligate. It is the middle compound character, which alone is vulnerable:—the man who, without firmneſs enough to avoid a diſhonourable action, has feeling enough to be aſhamed of it.

I thank you for your hint of the decalogue, and ſhall take an opportunity of applying it to ſome of your moſt virtuous friends in both houſes of parliament.

You ſeem to have dropped the affair of your regiment; ſo let it reſt. When you are appointed to another, I dare ſay you will not ſell it for a groſs ſum, or for an annuity upon lives.

I am truly glad (for really, Sir William, I am not your enemy, nor did I begin this conteſt with you) that you have been able to clear yourſelf of a crime, though at the expence of the higheſt indiſcretion. You ſay, that your half pay was given you by way of penſion. I will not dwell upon the ſingularity of uniting in your own perſon two ſorts of proviſion, which, in their own nature, and in all military and parliamentary views are incompatible; but I call upon you to juſtify that declaration, wherein you charge your —— with having done an act in your favour notoriouſly againſt law. The half-pay, both in Ireland and England, is appropriated by parliament; and if it be given to perſons, who, like you, are legally incapable of holding it, it is a breach of law. It would

would have been more decent in you to have called this dishonourable transaction by it's true name ;—a jobb to accommodate two persons, by particular interest and management at the Castle. What sense must government have had of your services, when the rewards they have given you are only a disgrace to you !

And now, Sir William, I shall take my leave of you for ever. Motives, very different from any apprehension of your resentment, make it impossible you should ever know me. In truth, you have some reason to hold yourself indebted to me. From the lessons I have given, you may collect a profitable instruction for your future life. They will either teach you so to regulate your conduct as to be able to set the most malicious inquiries at defiance ; or, if that be a lost hope, they will teach you prudence enough not to attract the public attention upon a character, which will only pass without censure, when it passes without observation.

JUNIUS.

This diſpute was revived by another *republication of* Juniu*s letters, which pamphlet having fallen into Sir* William Draper*'s hands, he wrote the following letter.*

To JUNIUS.

SIR, *Cliſton, Sept.* 14.

HAVING accidentally ſeen a *republication* of your letters, wherein you have been pleaſed to *aſſert*, that I had *ſold* the companions of my ſucceſs; I am again obliged to declare the ſaid aſſertion to be a moſt *infamous* and *malicious falſehood*; and I *again* call upon you to ſtand forth, avow yourſelf, and *prove* the charge. If you can make it out to the ſatisfaction of any one man in the kingdom, I will be content to be thought the worſt man in it; if you do not, what muſt the nation think of you? *Party* has nothing to do in this affair: you have made a perſonal attack upon my honour, defamed me by a moſt vile calumny, which might poſſibly have ſunk into oblivion, had not ſuch uncommon pains been taken to renew and perpetuate this ſcandal, chiefly becauſe it has been told in good language: for I give you full credit for your elegant diction, well turned periods, and Attic wit; but wit is oftentimes falſe, though it may appear brilliant; which is exactly the caſe of your *whole performance*. But, Sir, I am obliged in the moſt ſerious manner to accuſe you of being guilty of *falſities*. You have ſaid the thing that is *not*. To ſupport your ſtory, you have recourſe to the following irreſiſtible argument: "You *ſold* the companions of yo r victory,

tory, becauſe, when the ſixteenth regiment was given to *you*, you was *ſilent*." The concluſion is inevitable. I believe, that ſuch deep and acute reaſoning could only come ſuch an extraordinary writer as *Junius*. But unfortunately for you, the *premiſes* as well as the *concluſion* are abſolutely *falſe*. Many applications have been made to the miniſtry on the ſubject of the Manilla Ranſom ſince the time of my being colonel of that regiment. As I have for ſome years quitted London, I was obliged to have recourſe to the honourable Colonel Monſon and Sir Samuel Corniſh to *negociate* for me: In the laſt autumn I perſonally delivered a memorial to the Earl of Shelburne at his ſeat in Wiltſhire. As you have told us of your importance, that you are a perſon of rank and fortune, and above a *common* bribe, you may in all probability be not *unknown* to his lordſhip, who can ſatisfy you of the truth of what I ſay. But I ſhall now take the liberty, Sir, to ſeize your battery, and turn it againſt yourſelf. If your puerile and tinſel logic could carry the leaſt weight or conviction with it, how muſt you ſtand affected by the *inevitable concluſion*, as you are pleaſed to term it? According to *Junius*, *ſilence* is *guilt*. In many of the public papers, you have been called in the moſt direct and offenſive terms, a *liar* and a *coward*. When did you reply to theſe foul accuſations? You have been quite *ſilent*; quite chop-fallen: Therefore, *becauſe* you was *ſilent*, the nation has a right to pronounce you to be both a liar and a coward from your own argument: But, Sir, I will give you fairer play; will afford you an opportunity to wipe off the firſt appellation; by deſiring the proofs of your charge againſt me. Produce them! To wipe off the laſt, produce *yourſelf*.

yourſelf. People cannot bear any longer your *lion's ſkin*, and the deſpicable *impoſture* of the *old Roman name* which you have *affected*. For the future, aſſume the name of ſome *modern* bravo and dark aſſaſſin: let your appellation have ſome affinity to your practice. But if I muſt *periſh*, *Junius*, let me *periſh* in the face of day; be for *once* a generous and open enemy. I allow that Gothic *appeals* to cold iron are no better proofs of a man's honeſty and veracity than hot iron and burning ploughſhares are of *female chaſtity*; but a ſoldier's honour is as delicate as a woman's; it muſt not be ſuſpected; you have dared to throw more than a ſuſpicion upon mine: you cannot but know the conſequences, which even the meekneſs of chriſtianity would pardon me for, after the injury you have done me.

WILLIAM DRAPER.

JUNIUS's *Anſwer*.

Hæret lateri lethalis arundo.

To Sir WILLIAM DRAPER, K. B.

SIR,

AFTER ſo long an interval, I did not expect to ſee the debate revived between us. My anſwer to your laſt letter ſhall be ſhort; for I write to you with reluctance, and I hope we ſhall now conclude our correſpondence for ever.

Had you been originally, and without provocation, attacked by an anonymous writer, you would

would have ſome right to demand his name. But in this caſe you are a volunteer. You engaged in it with the unpremeditated gallantry of a ſoldier. You were content to ſet your name in oppoſition to a man, who would probably continue in concealment. You underſtood the terms upon which we were to correſpond, and gave at leaſt a tacit aſſent to them. After voluntarily attacking me under the character of Junius, what poſſible right have you to know me under any other? Will you forgive me if I inſinuate to you, that you foreſaw ſome honour in the apparent ſpirit of coming forward in perſon, and that you were not quite indifferent to the diſplay of your literary qualifications?

You cannot but know that the republication of my letters was no more than a catchpenny contrivance of a printer, in which it was impoſſible I ſhould be concerned, and for which I am no way anſwerable. At the ſame time I wiſh you to underſtand, that if I do not take the trouble of reprinting theſe papers, it is not from any fear of giving offence to Sir William Draper.

Your remarks upon a ſignature, adopted merely for diſtinction, are unworthy of notice; but when you tell me I have ſubmitted to be called a liar and a coward, I muſt aſk you in my turn, whether you ſeriouſly think it any way incumbent upon me to take notice of the ſilly invectives of every ſimpleton, who writes in news-papers; and what opinion you would have conceived of my diſcretion, if I had ſuffered myſelf to be the dupe of ſo ſhallow an artifice?

Your appeal to the ſword, though conſiſtent enough with your late profeſſion, will neither prove your innocence nor clear you from ſuſpicion.——

Your

Your complaints with regard to the Manilla ranſom were, for a conſiderable time, a diſtreſs to government. You were appointed (greatly out of your turn) to the command of a regiment, and *during that adminiſtration*, we heard no more of Sir William Draper. The facts, of which I ſpeak, may indeed be variouſly accounted for, but they are too notorious to be denied; and I think that you might have learnt at the Univerſity, that a falſe concluſion is an error in argument, not a breach of veracity. Your ſolicitations, I doubt not, were renewed under *another* adminiſtration. Admitting the fact, I fear an indifferent perſon would only infer from it, that experience had made you acquainted with the benefits of complaining. Remember, Sir, that you have yourſelf confeſſed, that, *conſidering the critical ſituation of this country, the miniſtry are in the right to temporiſe with Spain*. This confeſſion reduces you to an unfortunate dilemma. By renewing your ſolicitations, you muſt either mean to force your country into a war at a moſt unſeaſonable juncture; or, having no view or expectation of that kind, that you look for nothing but a private compenſation to yourſelf.

But after all, Sir, where is the injury? You aſſure me that my logic is puerile and tinſel; that it carries not the leaſt weight or conviction; that my premiſes are falſe, and my concluſions abſurd. If this be a juſt deſcription of me, how is it poſſible for ſuch a writer to diſturb your peace of mind, or injure a character ſo well eſtabliſhed as your's? Take care, Sir William, how you indulge this unruly temper, leſt the world ſhould ſuſpect, that conſcience has ſome ſhare in your reſentments. You have more to fear from the

treachery

treachery of your own paſſions, than from any malevolence of mine.

I believe, Sir, you will never know me. A conſiderable time muſt certainly elapſe before we are perſonally acquainted. You need not, however, regret the delay, or ſuffer an apprehenſion that any length of time can reſtore you to the chriſtian meekneſs of your temper, and diſappoint your preſent indignation. If I underſtand your character, there is in your own breaſt a repoſitory, in which your reſentments may be ſafely laid up for future occaſions, and preſerved without hazard of diminution. The *Odia in longum jaciens, quæ reconderet, auctaque promeret*, I thought had only belonged to the worſt character of antiquity. The text is in Tacitus ;——you know beſt where to look for the commentary.

JUNIUS.

Letter to the Duke of G———n *on pardoning* M'Quirk.

MY LORD, *March* 18, 1769.

BEFORE you were placed at the head of affairs, it had been a maxim of the Engliſh government, not unwillingly admitted by the people, that every ungracious or ſevere exertion of the prerogative ſhould be placed to the account of the miniſter ; but that whenever an act of grace or benevolence was to be performed, the whole merit of it ſhould be attributed to the Sovereign himſelf. It was a wiſe doctrine, my lord, and equally advantageous to the king and to his

 ſubjects ;

ſubjects; for while it preſerved that ſuſpicious attention, with which the people ought always to examine the conduct of miniſters, it tended at the ſame time rather to increaſe than to diminiſh their attachment to the perſon of their ſovereign.—— If there be a fatality attending every meaſure you are concerned in, by what treachery, or by what exceſs of folly has it happened, that thoſe ungracious acts, which have diſtinguiſhed your adminiſtration, and which I doubt not, were entirely your own, ſhould carry with them a ſtrong appearance of perſonal intereſt, and even of perſonal enmity in a quarter, where no ſuch intereſt or enmity can be ſuppoſed to exiſt, without the higheſt injuſtice and the higheſt diſhonour? On the other hand, by what judicious management have you contrived it, that the only act of mercy, to which you ever adviſed your ———, far from adding to the luſtre of a character truly gracious and benevolent, ſhould be received with univerſal diſapprobation and diſguſt? I ſhall conſider it as a miniſterial meaſure, becauſe it is an odious one, and as your meaſure, my Lord D—e, becauſe you are the miniſter.

As long as the trial of this chairman was depending, it was natural enough that government ſhould give him every poſſible encouragement and ſupport. The honourable ſervice, for which he was hired, and the ſpirit with which he performed it, made a common cauſe between your G—— and him. The M——, who by ſecret corruption invades the freedom of elections, and the ruffian, who by open violence deſtroys that freedom, are embarked in the ſame bottom. They have the ſame intereſts, and mutually feel for each other. To do juſtice to your G———'s humanity, you felt

felt for M'Quirk as you ought to do, and if you had been contented to aſſiſt him indirectly, without a notorious denial of juſtice, or openly inſulting the ſenſe of the nation, you might have ſatisfied every duty of political friendſhip without committing the honour of your ——, or hazarding the reputation of his government. But when this unhappy man had been ſolemnly tried, convicted and condemned ;—when it appeared that he had been frequently employed in the ſame ſervices, and that no excuſe for him could be drawn either from the innocence of his former life, or the ſimplicity of his character, was it not hazarding too much to interpoſe the ſtrength of the prerogative between this felon and the juſtice of his country ? You ought to have known that an example of this ſort was never ſo neceſſary as at preſent ; and certainly, you muſt have known that the lot could not have fallen upon a more guilty object. What ſyſtem of government is this ? You are perpetually complaining of the riotous diſpoſition of the lower claſs of people, yet when the laws have given you the means of making an example, in every ſenſe unexceptionable, and by far the moſt likely to awe the multitude, you pardon the offence, and are not aſhamed to give the ſanction of government to the riots you complain of, and even to future murders. You are partial perhaps to the military mode of execution, and had rather ſee a ſcore of theſe wretches butchered by the guards, than one of them ſuffer death by the regular courſe of law. How does it happen, my L——, that in *your* hands, even the mercy of the p————e is cruelty and oppreſſion to the ſubject ?

The meaſure it ſeems was ſo extraordinary, that you thought it neceſſary to give ſome reaſons for it to the public. Let them be fairly examined.

1. You ſay *that Meſſrs. Bromfield and Starling were not examined at M'Quirk's Trial.* I will tell your G—— why they were not. They muſt have been examined upon oath; and it was foreſeen that their evidence would either not benefit, or might be prejudicial to the priſoner. Otherwiſe is it conceivable that his counſel ſhould neglect to call in ſuch material evidence?

2. You ſay *that Mr Foot did not ſee the deceaſed until after his death.* A ſurgeon, my L—, muſt know very little of his profeſſion, if, upon examining a wound or contuſion, he cannot determine whether it was mortal or not.—While the party is alive, a ſurgeon will be cautious of pronouncing; whereas, by the death of the patient, he is enabled to conſider both cauſe and effect in one view, and to ſpeak with a certainty confirmed by experience.

Yet we are to thank your Grace for the eſtabliſhment of a new tribunal. Your *Inquiſitio poſt mortem* is unknown to the laws of England, and does honour to your invention. The only material objection to it is, that if Mr Foote's evidence was inſufficient, becauſe he did not examine the wound till after the death of the party, much leſs can a negative opinion, given by gentlemen, who never ſaw the body of Mr. Clarke, either before or after his deceaſe, authoriſe you to ſuperſede the verdict of a jury, and the ſentence of the laws.

Now, my Lord, let me aſk you, has it never occurred to your Grace, while you were withdrawing

drawing this deſperate wretch from that juſtice, which the laws had awarded, and which the whole people of England demanded againſt him, that there is another man, who is the favourite of his country, whoſe pardon would have been accepted with gratitude, whoſe pardon would have healed all our diviſions? Have you quite forgotten that this man was once your Grace's friend? Or is it to m——s only that you will extend the mercy of the C—n?

Theſe are queſtions you will not anſwer. Nor is it neceſſary. The character of your private life, and the uniform tenour of your public conduct, is an anſwer to them all.

JUNIUS.

A MONODY;*

Or the Tears of Sedition on the Death of JUNIUS.

Quis tibi Silure furor?

AND are thoſe periods fill'd with tuneful care,
Thoſe thoughts which gleam'd with Ciceronian ore,
Are they, my *Junius*, paſs'd like vulgar air,
Droop'd is thy plume, to riſe on fame no more?

Thy

* This little piece produced the following remarkable explanations:

THE Monody on the ſuppoſed death of *Junius* is not the leſs poetical for being founded on a fiction. In ſome parts of it, there is a promiſe of genius, which deſerves to be encouraged. My letter of Monday will, I hope, convince the author that I am neither a partiſan of Mr. Wilkes, nor yet bought

Thy plume !— it was the harp of ſong in proſe :
Oft have its numbers ſooth'd the felon's ear,
Oft to its tune my Wilkite heroes roſe
With couch'd tobacco pipes in act to ſpear.
Where

bought off by the miniſtry. It is true I have refuſed offers, which a more prudent or a more intereſted man would have accepted. Whether it be ſimplicity or virtue in me, I can only affirm that *I am in earneſt*; becauſe I am convinced, as far as my underſtanding is capable of judging, that the preſent miniſtry is driving this country to deſtruction; and you, I think, Sir, may be ſatisfied that my rank and fortune place me above a common bribe.

JUNIUS.

A CARD *to* JUNIUS.

POETIKASTOS preſents his compliments to Junius, and is glad to underſtand from ſo celebrated a judge of the beautiful and ſublime, that there is "a promiſe of genius" in his Monody. He could wiſh that it were in his power, either as a man of taſte or honour, to pay *Junius* any return of praiſe: As the motive and manner of the Eſſayiſt deprive *Poetikaſtos* of this power, he muſt take the liberty of cautioning him never to expoſe himſelf ſo far again, as to make a line of doggrel the ſuppoſed cauſe of announcing his fictious importance to the public.

If *Junius* dares to be *ſincere*, inſtead of being *in earneſt*, let him point out the deſtruction to which the miniſters are driving this country, in a more rational and gentleman-like manner than that ill-bred and cowardly method in which he would ſtain the perſonal honour of the miniſter, without being able to detract from the propriety of his meaſures.

Let him not *hint* at the offers, which he had not the *prudence* to accept,—let him publiſh them particularly and expreſsly. Let him not aſk for an *uncommon* bribe on account of a ſuppoſed rank and fortune, or aſſert, in childiſh terms, that he is *not* a partiſan of Mr. Wilkes, but let the ſpirit of his writing ſhew, that he is neither a hungry traducer of the merits of character, nor the hireling of the moſt contemptible of parties.

Poetikaſtos will then, and not 'till then, have ſo favourable an idea of *Junius*, as to give him ſome credit—he will perhaps offer him ſome more poetical compoſitions, and be deſirous of a perſonal acquaintance with a reformed or undeceived imitator of a TULLY.

Where now ſhall ſtormy *Codius* and his crew,
My dear aſſembly to the midnight hour,
Ah! where acquire a trumpeter!—ſince you
No more ſhall rouze them with your claſſic power.

Accurs'd * *Silurus!* blaſted be thy wing!
That grey Scotch wing which led the unerring dart!
In virtue's cauſe could all that's ſatire ſting
A boſom with corruption's poiſon fraught?

Impoſſible!—then hear me, fiends of H—ll,
This dark event, this myſtery unfold;
Poiſon'd was *Junius?* No; "Alas, he fell
"Midſt arrows dipp'd in miniſterial gold."

Then hear me, rioters, of my command,
Condemn the villain to a traitor's doom;
Let none but faithful knaves adorn my band;
Go, ſink this character into his tomb.

Here ſunk an eſſayiſt of dubious name,
Whoſe tinſel'd page on airy cadence run,
Friendleſs, with party—noted, without fame,
Virtue and vice diſclaim'd him as a ſon.

POETIKASTOS.

* A writer in oppoſition to Junius.

To his Grace the Duke of G——n.

MY LORD, *April* 10, 1769.

I Have ſo good an opinion of your Grace's diſcernment, that when the author of the vindication * of your conduct aſſures us, that he writes from his own mere motion, without the leaſt

* A pamphlet entitled, *A Vindication of the Duke of* G—, *in anſwer to* Junius's *Letter of March* 18.

leaſt authority from your Grace, I ſhould be ready enough to believe him, but for one fatal mark, which ſeems to be fixed upon every meaſure, in which either your perſonal or your political character is concerned.—Your firſt attempt to ſupport Sir William Proctor ended in the election of Mr. Wilkes; the ſecond enſured ſucceſs to Mr. Glynn. The extraordinary ſtep you you took to make Sir James Lowther Lord-Paramount of Cumberland, has ruined his intereſt in that county for ever. The Houſe Liſt of Directors was curſed with the concurrence of government; and even the miſerable D——y could not eſcape the misfortunes of your Grace's protection. With this uniform experience before us, we are authoriſed to ſuſpect, that when a pretended vindication of your principles and conduct in reality contains the bittereſt reflections upon both, it could not have been written without your immediate direction and aſſiſtance. The author, indeed, calls God to witneſs for him, with all the ſincerity, and in the very terms of an Iriſh evidence, *to the beſt of his knowledge and belief.* My Lord, you ſhould not encourage theſe appeals to heaven. The pious prince, from whom you are ſuppoſed to deſcend, made ſuch frequent uſe of them in his public declarations, that at laſt the people alſo found it neceſſary to appeal to heaven in their turn. Your adminiſtration has driven us into circumſtances of equal diſtreſs;—beware, at leaſt, how you remind us of the remedy.

You have already much to anſwer for. You have provoked this unhappy gentleman to play the fool once more in public life, in ſpite of his years and infirmities, and to ſhew us that, as you

yourſelf

eurſelf are a ſingular inſtance of youth without
pirit, the man, who defends you, is a no leſs
emarkable example of age without the benefit
f experience. To follow ſuch a writer minutely
vould, like his own periods, be a labour with-
ut end. The ſubject too has been already diſ-
cuſſed, and is ſufficiently underſtood. I cannot
elp obſerving, however, that, when the pardon
of M'Quirk was the principal charge againſt
you, it would have been but a decent compliment
to your Grace's underſtanding, to have defended
you upon your own principles. What credit does
a man deſerve, who tells us plainly, that the
facts ſet forth in the King's proclamation were
not the true motives on which the pardon was
granted, and that he wiſhes that thoſe chirur-
gical reports, which firſt gave occaſion to certain
doubts in the royal breaſt, had not been laid be-
fore his majeſty. You ſee, my Lord, that even
your friends cannot defend your actions, without
changing your principles, nor juſtify a deliberate
meaſure of government. without contradicting
the main aſſertion on which it was founded.

The conviction of M'Quirk had reduced you
to a dilemma, in which it was hardly poſſible for
you to reconcile your political intereſt with your
duty. You were obliged either to abandon an
active uſeful partiſan, or to protect a felon from
public juſtice. With your uſual ſpirit, you pre-
ferred your intereſt to every other conſideration;
and with your uſual judgment, you founded your
determination upon the only motives, which
ſhould not have been given to the public.

I have frequently cenſured Mr. Wilkes's con-
duct, yet your advocate reproaches me with hav-
ing devoted myſelf to the ſervice of ſedition.

Your Grace can beſt inform us, for which of Mr. Wilkes's good qualities you firſt honoured him with your friendſhip, or how long it was before you diſcovered thoſe bad ones in him, at which, it ſeems, your delicacy was offended. Remember, my Lord, that you continued your connection with Mr. Wilkes long after he had been convicted of thoſe crimes, which you have ſince taken pains to repreſent in the blackeſt colours of blaſphemy and treaſon. How unlucky is it, that the firſt inſtance you have given us of a ſcrupulous regard to decorum is united with the breach of a moral obligation! For my own part, my Lord, I am proud to affirm, that, if I had been weak enough to form ſuch a friendſhip, I would never have been baſe enough to betray it. But let Mr. Wilkes's character be what it may, this at leaſt is certain, that, circumſtanced as he is with regard to the public, even his vices plead for him. The people of England have too much diſcernment to ſuffer your Grace to take advantage of the failings of a private character, to eſtabliſh a precedent, by which the public liberty is affected, and which you may hereafter, with equal eaſe and ſatisfaction, employ to the ruin of the beſt men in the kingdom.—Content yourſelf, my Lord, with the many advantages, which the unſullied purity of your own character has given you over your unhappy deſerted friend. Avail yourſelf of all the unforgiving piety of the court you live in, and bleſs God that you "are not as other men are; extortioners, unjuſt, adulterers, or even as this Publican." In a heart void of feeling, the laws of honour and good faith may be violated with impunity, and there you may ſafely indulge your genius.

enius. But the laws of England ſhall not be iolated, even by your holy zeal to oppreſs a nner; and though you have ſucceeded in mak-ng him the tool, you ſhall not make him the ictim of your ambition.

JUNIUS.

An Anſwer to the preceding Letter. By a Volunteer in the Government Service; author of the Vindication of the D— of G——.*

To the Duke of G——.

SHould I be ſo unlucky, not to have defended your Grace on your own principles, it ſhould not be for mine, but for your own, and the pub-ic's ſake, that I ſhould be ſorry. But this pre-enſion of Maſter *Junius* is too fallacious to be dwelt upon; and I ſhall truſt to the ſteadineſs of your Grace's public conduct, to give him the lie n this reſpect. In the mean while I ſhall do ſo here, in vindication of my own veracity, and to clear myſelf of his falſe and impudent aſſertion

* A writer, who ſigns' Crito, charges *this Volunteer* with being a privy counſellor in Ireland, writer of the G——te, Comptroller of the S——l-Office, a clerk of the S—t, and a penſioner on the Iriſh eſtabliſhment; and adds, that when he was Under Secretary of State, the diviſion of 500l. among ten people was left to his diſcretion, 400l. of which he mo-deſtly claimed for his own ſhare. Such is this Volunteer! The Volunteer, to this charge, confeſſes that he knows Mr. W——n, but declares upon *his honour*, that the Right Hon. Mr. W—n has never had the leaſt ſhare in, or knowledge of his vindication of the D. of Grafton; and as to his claim of 400l. out of 500l. he is ſure it muſt be a downright lye, or a groſs miſrepreſentation.

of my having told plainly, " that the facts set
" forth in the king's proclamation were not the
" true motives on which the pardon was granted."
To say that I have directly or indirectly told this,
is as gross a lye as he or any man ever uttered. I
have indeed told the public, and I repeat it here,
that I could not but regret that the E. of Roch-
ford, whether with, or without the concurrence
of his co-ministers, seemed to have thought
proper to lay the chirurgical reports before the
king in preference to all the other sufficient
motives that were alledged, and were, or might
have been suggested to his majesty in behalf of
the pardoned convict. But this implies in the
fullest manner, that the pardon was granted by
the king, in consequence of those reports, as it is
set forth in the proclamation. And as to the
consequence which *Junius* draws from his lye,
the latter part vanishes with it, and the other
shews him to be as void of logic as of truth; for
what has the *mode* of an action to do with its *prin-
ciple*. I suppose for a moment that your Grace
had a mind, from a due regard to justice and to
the public safety, to get this *Junius* punished
according to his desert, would it change your
principle, Whether you thought proper to have
it done by a horse-whip, by an axe, or by an
halter? No more, I hope, my Lord Duke,
could it change the principle of justice and huma-
nity, on which you advised the pardon of
M'Quirk, whether it was done with laying be-
fore the king any other circumstance which plead-
ed in his favour, or that of the chirurgical opi-
nions and reports.

To this, a Reply come forth, addreſſed to Mr. Edward Weſton.

SIR, *April* 21, 1769.

I SAID you were an old man without the benefit of experience. It ſeems you are alſo a volunteer with the ſtipend of twenty commiſſions; and at a period when all proſpects are at an end, you are ſtill looking forward to rewards, which you cannot enjoy. No man is better acquainted with the bounty of government than you are,

——ton impudence,
Temeraire vieillard aura ſa recompenſe.

But I will not deſcend to an altercation either with the impotence of your age, or the peeviſhneſs of your diſeaſes. Your pamphlet, ingenious as it is, has been ſo little read, that the public cannot know how far you have a right to give me the lye, without the following citation of your own words:

Page 6—'1. That he is perſuaded that the 'motives, which he (Mr. Weſton) has alledged, 'muſt appear fully ſufficient, with or without 'the opinions of the ſurgeons.

'2. That thoſe very motives MUST HAVE 'BEEN the foundation, on which the Earl of 'Rochford thought proper, &c.

'3. That he CANNOT BUT REGRET that the 'Earl of Rochford ſeems to have thought proper 'to lay the chirurgical reports before the King,

'in

‘ in preference to all the other ſufficient mo-
‘ tives,’ &c.

Let the public determine whether this be defending government on their principles or your own.

The ſtile and language you have adopted are, I confeſs, not ill ſuited to the elegance of your own manners, or to the dignity of the cauſe you have undertaken. Every common dawber writes raſcal and villain under his pictures, becauſe the pictures themſelves have neither character nor reſemblance. But the works of a maſter require no index. His features and colouring are taken from nature. The impreſſion they make is immediate and uniform; nor is it poſſible to miſtake his characters, whether they repreſent the treachery of a miniſter, or the abuſed ſimplicity of a ——.

JUNIUS.

To his Grace the D—— of G——.

MY LORD, *April* 24, 1769.

THE ſyſtem you ſeemed to have adopted, when Lord C———m unexpectedly left you at the head of affairs, gave us no promiſe of that uncommon exertion of vigour, which has ſince illuſtrated your character and diſtinguiſhed your adminiſtration. Far from diſcovering a ſpirit bold enough to invade the firſt rights of the people, and the firſt principles of the conſtitution, you were ſcrupulous of exerciſing even thoſe powers, with which the executive branch of the legiſlature is legally inveſted. We have not yet

forgotten

forgotten how long Mr. Wilkes was ſuffered to appear at large, nor how long he was at liberty to canvaſs for the city and county, with all the terrors of an outlawry hanging over him. Our gracious ſovereign has not yet forgetten the extraordinary care you took of his dignity and of the ſafety of his perſon, when, at a criſis which courtiers affected to call alarming, you left the metropolis expoſed for two nights together, to every ſpecies of riot and diſorder. The ſecurity of the royal reſidence from inſult was then ſufficiently provided for in Mr. C—w—y's firmneſs, and Lord W———th's diſcretion; while the prime miniſter of Great Britain, in a rural retirement, and in the arms of a faded beauty, had loſt all memory of his Sovereign, his country, and himſelf. In theſe inſtances you might have acted with vigour, for you would have had the ſanction of the laws to ſupport you. The friends of government might have defended you without ſhame, and moderate men, who wiſh well to the peace and good order of ſociety, might have had a pretence for applauding your conduct. But theſe it ſeems were not occaſions worthy of your Grace's interpoſition. You reſerved the proofs of your intrepid ſpirit for trials of greater hazard and importance; and now, as if the moſt diſgraceful relaxation of the executive authority had given you a claim of credit to indulge in exceſſes ſtill more dangerous, you ſeem determined to compenſate amply for your former negligence; and to balance the non-execution of the laws with a breach of the conſtitution. From one extreme you ſuddenly ſtart to the other, without leaving, between the weakneſs and fury of the paſſions, one moment's interval for the firmneſs of the underſtanding.

Theſe

Theſe obſervations, general as they are, might eaſily be extended into a faithful hiſtory of your grace's adminiſtration, and perhaps may be the employment of a future hour. But the buſineſs of the preſent moment will not ſuffer me to look back to a ſeries of events, which ceaſe to be intereſting or important, becauſe they are ſucceeded by a meaſure ſo ſingularly daring, that it excites all our attention and engroſſes all our reſentment.

Your patronage of Mr. Luttrell has been crowned with ſucceſs. With this precedent before you, with the principles of which it was eſtabliſhed, and with a future houſe of common, perhaps leſs virtuous than the preſent, every county in England, under the auſpices of the treaſury, may be repreſented as completely as the county of Middleſex. Poſterity will be indebted to your grace for not contenting yourſelf with a temporary expedient, but entailing upon them the immediate bleſſings of your adminiſtration. Boroughs were already too much at the mercy of government. Counties could neither be purchaſed nor intimidated. But their ſolemn determined election may be rejected, and the man they deteſt may be appointed, by another choice, to repreſent them in parliament. Yet it is admitted that the ſheriffs obeyed the laws and performed their duty. The return they made muſt have been legal and valid, or undoubtedly they would have been cenſured for making it. With every good-natured allowance for your grace's youth and inexperience, there are ſome things which you cannot but know. You cannot but know that the right of the freeholders to adhere to their choice (even ſuppoſing it improperly exerted) was as clear and indiſputable as that of the houſe of commons to

exclude

exclude one of their own members ;——nor is it poſſible for you not to ſee the wide diſtance there is between the negative power of rejecting one man, and the poſitive power of appointing another. The right of expulſion, in the moſt favourable ſenſe, is no more than the cuſtom of parliament. The right of election is the very eſſence of the conſtitution. To violate that right, and much more to transfer it to any other ſet of men, is a ſtep leading immediately to the diſſolution of all government. So far forth as it operates, it conſtitutes a houſe of commons, which does not repreſent the people. A houſe of commons ſo formed, would involve a contradiction and the groſſeſt confuſion of ideas ; but there are ſome miniſters, my lord, whoſe views can only be anſwered by reconciling abſurdities, and making the ſame propoſition, which is falſe and abſurd in argument, true in fact *.

This

* The following ſenſible paper, by another writer, contains a further illuſtration of this intereſting ſubject.

To the Freeholders of England, &c.

Gentlemen,

THE conteſt between the freeholders of Middleſex and the H—— of C—— is truly conſtitutional, it relates immediately to the rights of freeholders and the privileges of parliament. A queſtion of ſuch a nature, and of ſuch importance, cannot be treated with too much attention. On the one ſide are the freeholders of the firſt county in England, and on the other, the reſpectable body of the H—— of C——.

The freeholders of Middleſex think they have a right, as freeholders, to chuſe whom they pleaſe to be their repreſentative in parliament, not diſqualified by law. The H—— of C—— think they have a right to expel from their body any perſon (though not diſqualified by law) who appears to them unworthy a ſeat in that houſe.

This I take to be the true, the exact point in conteſt between the freeholders of Middleſex and the H— of C—. I

This meaſure, my lord, is however attended with one conſequence, favourable to the people, which I am perſuaded you did not foreſee. While the conteſt lay between the miniſtry and Mr. Wilkes, his ſituation and private character gave you advantages over him, which common candour, if not

will not ſuppoſe any thing to the diſadvantage of either. I will ſuppoſe each ſide to be influenced only by good motives, and to be actuated only by equitable views. The freeholders in purſuit of their rights, and the Commons in ſupport of their privileges, and for a moment that they are alike open to conviction.

I only wiſh I were better qualified to write on this queſtion than I am. I think it however my duty to give my opinion, and to give it with all the clearneſs and perſpicuity I am able.

Were the H—— of C—— a *voluntary* ſociety, a ſociety which formed itſelf, it could not admit a doubt but that like all other ſuch ſocieties, they would have a right to receive or expel juſt whom they pleaſed; but this is not the conſtitution of the H--- of C---, the H--- of C--- is not a voluntary ſociety whoſe powers are derived from itſelf; it is an elected ſociety only, and inveſted only with a delegated power. The queſtion then is, from whence or from whom do the H--- of C--- derive to themſelves the privilege of expelling the member they diſapprove? They do not derive it from themſelves, for they are not a voluntary ſociety. If they be poſſeſſed of this privilege, it muſt have been delegated to them; but who did ever delegate to them ſuch a power? Did the Freeholders of York ever delegate to their repreſentatives a right of ſitting in judgment upon the juſt and legal return of the county of Devon?

Suppoſe all the freeholders in the kingdom, except thoſe of a ſingle county, to be of opinion that A. B. is not worthy of a ſeat in parliament, but that the freeholders of one county are of opinion that he is, I ſhould be glad to know, whether the freeholders of that county ever delegated to the other freeholders any right or power to put a negative upon their choice? It is abſurd to ſuppoſe that ſuch a power could ever be delegated, or that it ever could exiſt; and if ſuch a power does not exiſt even in freeholders themſelves, much leſs can it ever exiſt with thoſe whoſe power is derived only from their delegation.

not the memory of your former friendſhip, ſhould have forbidden you to make uſe of. To religious men, you had an opportunity of exaggerating the irregularities of his paſt life;—to moderate men you held forth the pernicious conſequences of faction. Men, who with this character looked no farther than to the object before them, were not diſſatisfied at ſeeing Mr. Wilkes excluded

It appears to me that the right of the people to chuſe their repreſentatives, and the right of the crown to create peers, are very ſimilar. The crown may create any Engliſhman, being a proteſtant, and taking the oaths preſcribed by law, a peer of the realm, and delegate to him a right to a ſeat and vote in the Houſe of Lords: And the people legally intitled to vote, may chuſe any man to be their repreſentative in parliament who is duly qualified according to law.

Were a peerage to be conferred on a papiſt, or on one who refuſes to take the oaths which the law requires, the Lords would be juſtified in refuſing to admit him to a ſeat in their Houſe: but if no legal objection can be urged againſt him, the Lords I apprehend have no right to urge any other, but muſt admit him.

In like manner, were the freeholders of any county to chuſe a perſon to be their repreſentative in parliament, not qualified according to law, the Commons in that caſe certainly have a right to reject him, or rather they have no right to admit him among them; but if the freeholders chuſe a perſon properly qualified according to law, let his private or general character be what it will, I apprehend the C--- have no more right to refuſe him his ſeat in their Houſe, than the Lords have to refuſe a peer created by the king his ſeat in theirs.

The king only, by the conſtitution and laws of England, can confer a right to a ſeat in the Houſe of Lords, the people only to a ſeat in the Houſe of Commons: And ſuppoſing no legal incapacity belonging either to the new-created peer or the new-elected burgeſs or knight of the Shire, I do apprehend, neither the L--- or C— have, from the conſtitution, the leaſt right to object to the choice, and much leſs to ſet it aſide.

I may indeed be miſtaken in this opinion, but if they have ſuch a right, it then follows the king cannot create a peer, nor the people chuſe their own repreſentatives. L. T.

from parliament. You have now taken care to ſhift the queſtion; or rather you have created a new one, in which Mr. Wilkes is no more concerned than any other Engliſh gentleman. You have united this country againſt you on one grand conſtitutional point, on the deciſion of which our exiſtence, as a free people, abſolutely depends. You have aſſerted, not in words but in fact, that repreſentation in parliament does not depend on the choice of the freeholders. If ſuch a caſe can poſſibly happen once, it may happen frequently; it may happen always;—and if three hundred votes, by any mode of reaſoning whatſoever, can prevail againſt twelve hundred, the ſame reaſoning would equally have given Mr. Luttrel his ſeat with ten votes, or even with one. The conſequences of this attack upon the conſtitution are too plain and palpable not to alarm the dulleſt apprehenſion. I truſt you will find that the people of England are neither deficient in ſpirit nor underſtanding, though you have treated them, as if they had neither ſenſe to feel, nor ſpirit to reſent. We have reaſon to thank God and our anceſtors, that there never yet was a miniſter in this country who could ſtand the iſſue of ſuch a conflict; and with every prejudice in favour of your attentions, I ſee no ſuch abilities in your Grace, as ſhould entitle you to ſucceed in an enterprize, in which the ableſt and baſeſt of your predeceſſors have found their deſtruction. You may continue to deceive your gracious maſter with falſe repreſentations of the temper and condition of his ſubjects. You may command a venal vote, becauſe it is the common eſtabliſhed appendage of your office. But never hope that the freeholders will make a tame ſurrender of their rights, or that an

Engliſh

Engliſh army will join with you in overturning the liberties of their country. They know that their firſt duty, as citizens, is paramount to all ſubſequent engagements, nor will they prefer the diſcipline, or even the honours of their profeſſion to thoſe ſacred original rights, which belonged to them before they were ſoldiers, and which they claim and poſſeſs as the birth-rights of Engliſhmen.

Return, my Lord, before it be too late, to that eaſy inſipid ſyſtem, which you firſt ſet out with. Take back your miſtreſs;—the name of friend may be fatal to her, for it leads to treachery and perſecution. Indulge the people. Attend Newmarket. Mr. Luttrell may again vacate his ſeat; and Mr. Wilkes, if not perſecuted, will ſoon be forgotten. To be weak and inactive is ſafer than to be daring and criminal; and wide is the diſtance between a riot of the populace and a convulſion of the whole kingdom. You may live to make the experiment, but no honeſt man can wiſh you ſhould ſurvive it.

JUNIUS.

To the Same.

MY LORD,

IF the meaſures in which you have been moſt ſucceſsful, had been ſupported by any tolerable appearance of argument, I ſhould have thought my time not ill employed, in continuing to examine your conduct as a miniſter, and ſtating it fairly to the public: but when I ſee queſtions of

of the higheſt national importance carried as they have been, and the firſt principles of the conſtitution openly violated, without argument or decency, I confeſs, I give up the cauſe in deſpair. The meaneſt of your predeceſſors had abilities ſufficient to give a colour to their meaſures. If they invaded the rights of the people, they did not dare to offer a direct inſult to their underſtanding; and, in former times, the moſt venal parliaments made it a condition, in their bargain with the miniſter, that he ſhould furniſh them with ſome plauſible pretences for ſelling their country and themſelves. You have had the merit of introducing a more compendious ſyſtem of government and logic. You neither addreſs yourſelf to the paſſions nor to the underſtanding, but ſimply to the touch. You apply yourſelf immediately to the feelings of your friends, who, contrary to the forms of parliament, never enter heartily into a debate, until they have divided.

Relinquiſhing, therefore, all idle views of amendment to your Grace, or of benefit to the public, let me be permitted to conſider your character and conduct merely as a ſubject of curious ſpeculation.—There is ſomething in both, which diſtinguiſhes you not only from all other miniſters, but all other men. It is not that you do wrong by deſign, but that you ſhould never do right by miſtake. It is not that your indolence and your activity have been equally miſapplied, but that the firſt uniform principle, or, if I may ſo call it, the genius of your life, ſhould have carried you through every poſſible change and contradiction of conduct, without the momentary imputation or colour of a virtue; and that the wild-

eſt

eſt ſpirit of inconſiſtency ſhould never once have betrayed you into a wiſe or honourable action. This, I own, gives an air of ſingularity to your fortune, as well as to your diſpoſition. Let us look back together to a ſcene, in which a mind like your's will find nothing to repent of. Let us try, my Lord, how well you have ſupported the various relations in which you ſtood, to your Sovereign, your country, your friends, and yourſelf. Give us, if it be poſſible, ſome excuſe to poſterity, and to ourſelves, for ſubmitting to your adminiſtration. If not the abilities of a great miniſter, if not the integrity of a patriot, or the fidelity of a friend, ſhew us, at leaſt, the firmneſs of a man.——For the ſake of your miſtreſs, the lover ſhall be ſpared. I will not lead her into public, as you have done, nor will I inſult the memory of departed beauty. Her ſex, which alone made her amiable in your eyes, makes her reſpectable in mine.

The character of the reputed anceſtors of ſome men has made it poſſible for their deſcendants to be vicious in the extreme, without being degenerate. Thoſe of your Grace, for inſtance, left no diſtreſſing examples of virtue, even to their legitimate poſterity, and you may look back with pleaſure to an illuſtrious pedigree, in which heraldry has not left a ſingle good quality upon record to inſult or upbraid you. You have better proofs of your deſcent, my Lord, than the regiſter of a marriage, or any troubleſome inheritance of reputation. There are ſome hereditary ſtrokes of character, by which a family may be as clearly diſtinguiſhed as by the blackeſt features in the human face. Charles the Firſt, lived and died a

hypocrite.

hypocrite. Charles the Second was a hypocrite of another ſort, and ſhould have died upon the ſame ſcaffold. At the diſtance of a century, we ſee their different characters happily revived and blended in your Grace. Sullen and ſevere, without religion, profligate without gaiety, you live like Charles the Second, without being an amiable companion, and, for ought I know, may die as his father did, without the reputation of a martyr.

You had already taken your degrees with credit in thoſe ſchools, in which the Engliſh nobility are formed to virtue, when you were introduced to Lord Chatham's protection. From Newmarket, White's, and the Oppoſition, he gave you to the world with an air of popularity, which young men uſually ſet out with, and ſeldom preſerve; grave and plauſible enough to be thought fit for buſineſs, too young for treachery, and, in ſhort, a patriot of no unpromiſing expectations. Lord Chatham was the earlieſt object of your political wonder and attachment; yet you deſerted him, upon the firſt hopes that offered of an equal ſhare of power with Lord Rockingham.—When the Duke of Cumberland's firſt negociation failed, and when the Favourite was puſhed to the laſt extremity, you ſaved him, by joining with an adminiſtration, in which Lord Chatham had refuſed to engage. Still, however, he was your friend, and you are yet to explain to the world, why you conſented to act without him, or why, after uniting with Lord Rockingham, you deſerted and betrayed him. You complained that no meaſures were taken to ſatisfy your patron, and that your friend, Mr. Wilkes, who had ſuffered ſo much

much for the party, had been abandoned to his fate. They have ſince contributed, not a little, to your preſent plenitude of power ; yet, I think Lord Chatham has leſs reaſon than ever to be ſatisfied ; and as for Mr. Wilkes, it is, perhaps, the greateſt misfortune of his life, that you ſhould have ſo many compenſations to make in the cloſet for your former friendſhip with him. Your gracious maſter underſtands your character, and makes you a perſecutor, becauſe you have been a friend.

Lord Chatham formed his laſt adminiſtration upon principles which you certainly concurred in; or you could never have been placed at the head of the Treaſury. By deſerting thoſe principles, and by acting in direct contradiction to them, in which, he found, you were ſecretly ſupported in the cloſet; you ſoon forced him to leave you to yourſelf, and to withdraw his name from an adminiſtration, which had been formed on the credit of it. You had then a proſpect of friendſhips better ſuited to your genius, and more likely to fix your diſpoſition. Marriage is the point on which every rake is ſtationary at laſt; and truly, my Lord, you may well be weary of the circuit you have taken, for you have now fairly travelled thro' every ſign in the political Zodiac, from the Scorpion, in which you ſtung Lord Chatham, to the hopes of a virgin in the houſe of Bl——ſ—y. One would think that you had had ſufficient experience of the frailty of nuptial engagements, or, at leaſt, that ſuch a friendſhip as the Duke of B———d's might have been ſecured to you by the auſpicious marriage of your late D———ſs with his nephew. But ties of this tender nature

cannot be drawn too close; and it may possibly be a part of the D—— of B—f—d's ambition, after making *her* an honest women, to work a miracle of the same sort upon your G——. This worthy nobleman has long dealt in virtue. There has been a large consumption of it in his own family; and, in the way of traffick, I dare say, he has bought and sold more than half the representative integrity of the nation.

In a political view, this union is not imprudent. The favour of princes is a perishable commodity. You have now a strength sufficient to command the closet; and if it be necessary to betray one friendship more, you may set even Lord Bute at defiance. Mr. Stuart Mackenzie may possibly remember what use the D—— of B—f—d usually makes of his power, and our gracious Sovereign, I doubt not, rejoices at this first appearance of union among his servants. His late Majesty, under the happy influence of a family connection between his ministers, was relieved from the cares of government. A more active prince may perhaps observe with suspicion, by what degrees an artful servant grows upon his master from the first unlimited professions of duty and attachment to the painful representation of necessity of the royal service, and soon, in regular progression, to the humble insolence of dictating in all the obsequious forms of peremptory submission. The interval is carefully employed in forming connections, creating interests, collecting a party and laying the foundation of double marriages, until the deluded prince, who thought he had found a creature prostituted to his service, and insignificant enough to be always dependent upon his

pleasure,

pleaſure, finds him at laſt too ſtrong to be commanded, and too formidable to be removed.

Your Grace's public conduct, as a miniſter, is but the counter-part of your private hiſtory, the ſame inconſiſtency, the ſame contradictions. In America we trace you, from the firſt oppoſition to the Stamp Act, on principles of convenience, to Mr. Pitt's ſurrender of the right; then forward to Lord Rockingham's ſurrender of the fact; then back again to Lord Rockingham's declaration of the right; then forward to taxation with Mr. Townſhend; and in the laſt inſtance, from the gentle Conway's undetermined diſcretion, to blood and compulſion with the D— of B—f—d: Yet if we may believe the ſimplicity of Lord North's eloquence, at the opening of next ſeſſions you are once more to be patron of America. 'Is this the wiſdom of a great Miniſter? or is it the vibration of a pendulum? Had you no opinion of your own, my Lord? or was it the gratification of betraying every party with which you had been united, and of deſerting every political principle in which you had concurred.

Your enemies may turn their eyes without regret from this admirable ſyſtem of provincial government: They will find gratification enough in the ſurvey of your domeſtic and foreign policy.

If, inſtead of diſowning with Lord Shelburne, the Britiſh court had interpoſed with dignity and firmneſs, you know, my Lord, that Corſica would never have been invaded. The French ſaw the weakneſs of a diſtracted miniſtry, and were juſtified in treating you with contempt. They would probably have yielded in the firſt inſtance rather than hazard a rupture with this country;

but being once engaged, they cannot retreat without diſhonour. Common ſenſe foreſees conſequences which have eſcaped your Grace's penetration. Either we ſuffer the French to make an acquiſition, the importance of which you have probably no conception of, or we oppoſe them by an underhand management, which only diſgraces us in the eyes of Europe, without anſwering any purpoſe of policy or prudence. From ſecret, indiſcreet aſſiſtance, a tranſition to ſome more open deciſive meaſures becomes unavoidable, till at laſt we find ourſelves principals in the war, and are obliged to hazard every thing for an object which might originally be obtained without expence or danger. I am not verſed in the politics of the north; but this I believe is certain, that half the money you have diſtributed to carry the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes, or even your Secretary's ſhare in the laſt ſubſcription, would have kept the Turks at your devotion. Was it œconomy, my Lord? or did the coy reſiſtance you have conſtantly met with in the Britiſh Senate make you deſpair of corrupting the Divan? Your friends indeed have the firſt claim upon your bounty, but if five hundred pounds a year can be ſpared in penſion to Sir John Moore, it would not have diſgraced you to have allowed ſomething to the ſecret ſervice of the public.

You will ſay perhaps that the ſituation of affairs at home demanded and engroſſed the whole of your attention. Here, I confeſs, you have been active. An amiable, accompliſhed prince aſcends to the throne under the happieſt of all auſpices, the acclamations and united affections of his ſubjects. The firſt meaſures of his reign, and even the odium of a favourite were not able to ſhake

their

their attachments. *Your* ſervices, my Lord, have been more ſucceſsful. Since you were permitted to take the lead, we have ſeen the natural effects of a ſyſtem of government at once both odious and contemptible. We have ſeen the laws ſometimes ſcandalouſly relaxed, ſometimes violen ly ſtretched beyond their tone. We have ſeen the ſacred perſon of the Sovereign inſulted; and in profound peace, and with an undiſputed title, the fidelity of his ſubjects brought by his own ſervants into public queſtion. Without abilities, reſolution, or intereſt, you have done more than Lord Bute could accompliſh with all Scotland at at his heels.

Your Grace, little anxious perhaps either for preſent or future reputation, will not deſire to be handed down in theſe colours to poſterity. You have reaſon to flatter yourſelf that the memory of your adminiſtration will ſurvive even the forms of a conſtitution, which our anceſtors vainly hoped would be immortal; and as for your perſonal character, I will not, for the honour of human nature, ſuppoſe that you can wiſh to have it remembered. The condition of the preſent times is deſperate indeed; but there is a debt due to thoſe who come after us, and it is the Hiſtorian's office to puniſh, tho' he cannot correct. I do not give you to p ſterity as a pattern to imitate, but as an example to deter; and as your conduct comprehends every thing that a wiſe or honeſt miniſter ſhould avoid, I mean to make you a negative inſtruction to your ſucceſſors for ever.

JUNIUS.

To

To the Same.

My Lord, *July* 8, 1769.

IF nature had given you an underſtanding qualified to keep pace with the wiſhes and principles of your heart, ſhe would have made you, perhaps, the moſt formidable miniſter that ever was employed, under a limited monarch, to accompliſh the ruin of a free people. When neither the feelings of ſhame, the reproaches of conſcience, nor the dread of puniſhment, form any bar to the deſigns of a miniſter, the people would have too much reaſon to lament their condition, if they did not find ſome reſource in the weakneſs of his underſtanding. We owe it to the bounty of Providence, that the compleateſt depravity of the heart is ſometimes ſtrangely united with a confuſion of the mind, which counteracts the moſt favourite principles, and makes the ſame man treacherous without art, and a hypocrite without deceiving. The meaſures, for inſtance, in which your Grace's activity has been chiefly exerted, as they were adopted without ſkill, ſhould have been conducted with more than common dexterity. But truly, my Lord, the execution has been as groſs as the deſign. By one deciſive ſtep, you have defeated all the arts of writing. You have fairly confounded the intrigues of oppoſition, and ſilenced the clamours of faction. A dark ambiguous ſyſtem might require and furniſh the materials of ingenious illuſtration, and,

in

in doubtful meaſures, the virulent exaggeration of party muſt be employed, to rouſe and engage the paſſions of the people. You have now brought the merits of your adminiſtration to an iſſue, on which every Engliſhman, of the narroweſt capacity, may determine for himſelf. It is not an alarm to the paſſions, but a calm appeal to the judgment of the people upon their own moſt eſſential intereſts. A more experienced miniſter would not have hazarded a direct inv——n of the firſt principles of the conſtitution, before he had made ſome progreſs in ſubduing the ſpirit of the people. With ſuch a cauſe as your's, my Lord, it is not ſufficient that you have the court at your devotion, unleſs you can find means to corrupt or intimidate the jury. The collective body of the people form that jury, and from their deciſion there is but one appeal.

Whether you have talents to ſupport you, at a criſis of ſuch difficulty and danger, ſhould long ſince have been conſidered. Judging truly of your diſpoſition, you have perhaps miſtaken the extent of your capacity. Good faith and folly have ſo long been received for ſynonimous terms, that the reverſe of the propoſition has grown into credit, and every villain fancies himſelf a man of abilities. It is the apprehenſion of your friends, my Lord, that you have drawn ſome haſty concluſion of this ſort, and that a partial reliance upon your moral character has betrayed you beyond the depth of your underſtanding. You have now carried things too far to retreat. You have plainly declared to the people what they are to expect from the continuance of your adminiſtration. It is time for your Grace to conſider

what

what you alſo may expect in return from *their* ſpirit and *their* reſentment.

Since the acceſſion of our moſt gracious ſovereign to the throne, we have ſeen a ſyſtem of government, which may well be called a reign of experiments. Parties of all denominations have been employed and diſmiſſed. The advice of the ableſt men in this country has been repeatedly called for and rejected; and when the royal diſpleaſure has been ſignified to a miniſter, the marks of it have uſually been proportioned to his abilities and integrity. The ſpirit of the FAVOURITE had ſome apparent influence upon every adminiſtration; and every ſet of miniſters preſerved an appearance of duration, as long as they ſubmitted to that influence. But there were certain ſervices to be performed for the Favourite's ſecurity, or to gratify his reſentments, which your predeceſſors in office had the wiſdom or the virtue not to undertake. The moment this refractory ſpirit was diſcovered, their diſgrace was determined. Lord Chatham, Mr. Grenville, and Lord Rockingham, have ſucceſſively had the honour to be diſmiſſed, for preferring their duty, as ſervants of the public, to thoſe compliances which were expected from their ſtation. A ſubmiſſive adminiſtration was at laſt gradually collected from the deſerters of all parties, intereſts and connexions: and nothing remained but to find a leader for theſe gallant well-diſciplined troops. Stand forth, my Lord, for thou art the man. Lord Bute found no reſource of dependence or ſecurity in the proud impoſing ſuperiority of Lord Chatham's abilities, the ſhrewd inflexible judgment of Mr. Grenville, nor in the mild

mild but determined integrity of Lord Rockingham. His views and ſituation required a creature void of all theſe properties; and he was forced to go through every diviſion, reſolution, compoſition and refinement of political chemiſtry, before he happily arrived at the caput mortuum of vitriol in your Grace. Flat and inſipid in your retired ſtate, but brought into action you become vitriol again. Such are the extremes of alternate indolence or fury, which have governed your whole adminiſtration. Your circumſtances with regard to the people ſoon becoming deſperate, like other honeſt ſervants, you determined to involve the beſt of maſters in the ſame difficulties with yourſelf. We owe it to your Grace's well-directed labours, that your Sovereign has been perſuaded to doubt of the affections of his ſubjects, and the people to ſuſpect the virtues of their Sovereign, at a time when both were unqueſtionable. You have degraded the royal dignity into a baſe, diſhonourable competition with Mr. Wilkes, nor had you abilities to carry even this laſt contemptible triumph over a private man, without the groſſeſt violation of the fundamental laws of the conſtitution and rights of the people. But theſe are rights, my Lord, which you can no more annihilate than you can the ſoil to which they are annexed. The queſtion no longer turns upon points of national honour and ſecurity abroad, or on the degrees of expedience and propriety of meaſures at home. It was not inconſiſtent that you ſhould abandon the cauſe of liberty in another country, which you had perſecuted in your own; and in the common arts of domeſtic corruption, we miſs no

part of Sir Robert Walpole's ſyſtem, except his abilities. In this humble imitative line you might long have proceeded, ſafe and contemptible. You might probably never have riſen to the dignity of being hated, and you might even have been deſpiſed with moderation. But it ſeems you meant to be diſtinguiſhed, and to a mind like yours there was no other road to fame but by the d-ſt--ct--on of a noble fabric, which you thought had been too long the admiration of mankind. The uſe you have made of the military force introduced an alarming change in the mode of executing the laws. This arbitrary appointment of Mr. Luttrell invades the foundation of the laws themſelves, as it manifeſtly transfers the right of legiſlation from thoſe whom the people have choſen, to thoſe whom they have rejected. With a ſucceſſion of ſuch appointments, we may ſoon ſee a houſe of commons collected, in the choice of which the other towns and counties of England will have as little ſhare as the devoted county of Middleſex.

Yet I truſt your Grace will find that the people of this country are neither to be intimidated by violent meaſures, nor deceived by refinements. When they ſee Mr. Luttrell ſeated in the houſe of commons by mere dint of power, and in direct oppoſition to the choice of a whole county, they will not liſten to thoſe ſubtleties by which every arbitrary exertion of authority is explained into the law and privilege of parliament. It requires no perſuaſion of argument, but ſimply the evidence of the ſenſes, to convince them, that to transfer the right of election from the collective to the repreſentative body of the people, contradicts

dicts all thoſe ideas of a houſe of commons, which they have received from their forefathers, and which they had already, though vainly perhaps, delivered to their children. The principles, on which this violent meaſure has been defended, have added ſcorn to injury, and forced us to feel, that we are not only oppreſſed but inſulted.

With what force, my Lord, with what protection are you prepared to meet the united deteſtation of the people of England? The city of London has given a generous example to the kingdom in what manner a King of this country ought to be addreſſed; and I fancy, my Lord, it is not yet in your courage to ſtand between your ſovereign and the addreſſes of his ſubjects. The injuries you have done this country are ſuch as demand not only redreſs, but vengeance. In vain ſhall you look for protection to that venal vote, which you have already paid for: another muſt be purchaſed; and, to ſave a miniſter, the h—— of c——— muſt declare themſelves not only independent of their conſtituents, but the determined enemies of the conſtitution. Conſider, my Lord, whether this be an extremity, to which their fears will permit them to advance; or, if their protection ſhould fail you, how far you are authoriſed to rely upon the ſincerity of thoſe ſmiles, which a pious c—t laviſhes without reluctance upon a libertine by profeſſion. It is not indeed the leaſt of the thouſand contradictions which attend you, that a man, marked to the world by the groſſeſt violation of all ceremony and decorum, ſhould be the firſt ſervant of a c—t, in which prayers are morality, and kneeling is religion. Truſt not too far to appearances,

by which your predeceſſors have been deceived, though they have not been injured. Even the beſt of princes may at laſt diſcover that this is a contention in which every thing may be loſt, but nothing can be gained; and as you became miniſter by accident, were adopted without choice, truſted without confidence, and continued without favour, be aſſured that, whenever an occaſion preſſes, you will be diſregarded without even the forms of regret. You will then have reaſon to be thankful, if you are permitted to retire to that ſeat of learning, which, in contemplation of the ſyſtem of your life, the comparative purity of your manners with thoſe of their high ſteward, and a thouſand other recommending circumſtances, has choſen you to encourage the growing virtue of their youth, and to preſide over their education. Whenever the ſpirit of diſtributing prebends and biſhopricks ſhall have departed from you, you will find that learned ſeminary perfectly recovered from the delirium of an inſtallation, and, what in truth it ought to be, once more a peaceful ſcene of ſlumber and meditation. The venerable tutors of the univerſity will no longer diſtreſs your modeſty, by propoſing you for a pattern to their pupils. The learned dulneſs of declamation will be ſilent; and even the venal muſe, though happieſt in fiction, will forget your virtues. Yet, for the benefit of the ſucceeding age, I could wiſh that your retreat might be deferred until your morals ſhall happily be ripened to that maturity of corruption, at which philoſophers tell us, the worſt examples ceaſe to be contagious.

JUNIUS.

To the Printer.

SIR,

A GREAT deal of uſeleſs argument might have been ſaved, in the political conteſt, which has ariſen from the expulſion of Mr. Wilkes, and the ſubſequent appointment of Mr. Luttrell, if the queſtion had been once ſtated with preciſion, to the ſatisfaction of each party, and clearly underſtood by them both. But in this, as in almoſt every other diſpute, it uſually happens that much time is loſt in referring to a multitude of caſes and precedents, which prove nothing to the purpoſe, or in maintaining propoſitions, which are either not diſputed, or, whether they be admitted or denied, are entirely indifferent as to the matter in debate; until at laſt the mind, perplexed and confounded with the endleſs ſubtleties of controverſy, loſes ſight of the main queſtion, and never arrives at truth. Both parties in the diſpute are apt enough to practiſe theſe diſhoneſt artifices. The man who is conſcious of the weakneſs of his cauſe, is intereſted in concealing it; and on the other ſide it is not uncommon to ſee a good cauſe mangled by advocates who do not know the real ſtrength of it.

I ſhould be glad to know, for inſtance, to what purpoſe in the preſent caſe ſo many precedents have been produced to prove, that the houſe of commons have a right to expell one of their own members; that it belongs to them to judge

judge of the validity of elections; or that the law of parliament is part of the law of the land? After all theſe propoſitions are admitted, Mr. Luttrell's right to his ſeat will continue to be juſt as diſputable as it was before. Not one of them is at preſent in agitation. Let it be admitted that the houſe of commons were authorized to expel Mr. Wilkes; that they are the proper court to judge of Elections; and that the law of parliament is binding upon the people; ſtill it remains to be enquired whether the houſe, by their reſolution in favour of Mr. Luttrell, have or have not truly declared that law. To facilitate this enquiry, I would have the queſtion cleared of all foreign or indifferent matter. The following ſtate of it will probably be thought a fair one by both parties; and then I imagine there is no gentleman in this country who will not be capable of forming a judicious and true opinion upon it. I take the queſtion to be ſtrictly this: Whether or no it be the known eſtabliſhed law of parliament, that the expulſion of a member of the houſe of commons of itſelf creates in him ſuch an incapacity to be re-elected, that, at a ſubſequent election, any votes given to him are null and void, and that any other candidate, who, except the perſon expelled, has the greateſt number of votes, ought to be the ſitting member?

To prove that the affirmative is the law of Parliament, I apprehend it is not ſufficient for the preſent houſe of commons to declare it to be ſo. We may ſhut our eyes indeed to the dangerous conſequences of ſuffering one branch of the legiſlature t · declare new laws, without argument or example, and it may perhaps be prudent

enough

enough to ſubmit to authority; but a mere aſſertion will never convince, much leſs will it be thought reaſonable to prove the right by the fact itſelf. The miniſtry have not yet pretended to ſuch a tyranny over our minds. To ſupport the affirmative fairly, it will either be neceſſary to produce ſome ſtatute in which that poſitive proviſion ſhall have been made, that ſpecific diſability clearly created, and the conſequences of it declared; or if there be no ſuch ſtatute, the cuſtom of parliament muſt then be referred to, and ſome caſe or caſes, ſtrictly in point, muſt be produced, with the deciſion of the court upon them; for I readily admit that the cuſtom of parliament, once clearly proved, is equally binding with the common and ſtatute law.

The conſideration of what may be reaſonable or unreaſonable makes no part of this queſtion. We are enquiring what the law is, not what it ought to be. Reaſon may be applied to ſhew the impropriety or expedience of a law, but we muſt have either ſtatute or precedent to prove the exiſtence of it. At the ſame time I do not mean to admit that the late reſolution of the houſe of commons is defenſible on general principles of reaſon, any more than in law. This is not the hinge on which the debate turns.

Suppoſing therefore that I have laid down an accurate ſtate of the queſtion, I will venture to affirm, 1ſt. That there is no ſtatute exiſting by which that ſpecific diſability which we ſpeak of is created. If there be, let it be produced. The argument will then be at an end.

2dly. That there is no precedent in all the proceedings of the houſe of commons, which comes

comes entirely home to the preſent caſe, viz. ‘ where an expelled member has been returned ‘ again, and another candidate, with an inferior ‘ number of votes, has been declared the ſitting ‘ member.’ If there be ſuch a precedent, let it be given to us plainly, and I am ſure it will have more weight than all the cunning arguments which have been drawn from inferences and probabilities.

The miniſtry, in that laborious pamphlet which I preſume contains the whole ſtrength of the party, have declared “ that Mr. Walpole's “ was the firſt and only inſtance, in which the “ electors of any county or borough had return- “ ed a perſon expelled to ſerve in the ſame par- “ liament.” It is not poſſible to conceive a caſe more exactly in point. Mr. Walpole was expelled, and having a majority of votes at the next election, was returned again. The friends of Mr. Taylor, a candidate ſet up by the miniſtry, petitioned the houſe that he might be the ſitting member. Thus far the circumſtances tally exactly, except that our houſe of commons ſaved Mr. Luttrell the trouble of petitioning. The point of law however was the ſame. It came regularly before the houſe, and it was their buſineſs to determine upon it. They did determine it, for they declared Mr. Taylor *not duly elected.* If it be ſaid that they meant this reſolution as matter of favour and indulgence to the borough, which had retorted Mr. Walpole upon them, in order that the Burgeſſes knowing what the law was, might correct their error, I anſwer,

I. That

I. That it is a ſtrange way of arguing to oppoſe a ſuppoſition, which no man can prove, to a fact which proves itſelf.

II. That if this were the intention of the houſe of commons, it muſt have defeated itſelf. The Burgeſſes of Lynn could never have known their error, much leſs could they have corrected it by any inſtruction they received from the proceedings of the houſe of commons. They might perhaps have foreſeen this, if they returned Mr. Walpole again, he would again be rejected; but they never could infer, from a reſolution by which the candidate with the feweſt votes was declared *not duly elected*, that, at a future election, and in ſimilar circumſtances, the houſe of commons would reverſe their reſolution, and receive the ſame candidate as duly elected, whom they had before rejected.

This indeed would have been a moſt extraordinary way of declaring the law of parliament, and what I preſume no man, whoſe underſtanding is not at croſs-purpoſes with itſelf, could poſſibly underſtand.

If in a caſe of this importance, I thought myſelf at liberty to argue from ſuppoſitions rather than from facts; I think the probability in this caſe is directly the reverſe of what the miniſtry affirm; and that it is much more likely that the houſe of commons at that time would rather have ſtrained a point in favour of Mr. Taylor, than that they would have violated the law of parliament, and robbed Mr. Taylor of a right legally veſted in him, to gratify a refractory borough, which, in defiance of them, had returned a perſon branded with the ſtrongeſt mark of the diſpleaſure of the houſe.

But really, Sir, this way of talking, for I cannot call it argument, is a mockery of the common underſtanding of the nation, too groſs to be endured. Our deareſt intereſts are at ſtake. An attempt has been made, not merely to rob a ſingle county of its rights, but, by inevitable conſequence, to alter the conſtitution of the houſe of commons. This fatal attempt has ſucceeded, and ſtands as a precedent recorded for ever. If the miniſtry are unable to defend their cauſe by fair argument founded on facts, let them ſpare us at leaſt the mortification of being amuſed and deluded like children. I believe there is yet a ſpirit of reſiſtance in this country, which will not ſubmit to be oppreſſed; but I am ſure there is a fund of good ſenſe in this country which cannot be deceived.

JUNIUS.

To the PRINTER.

SIR,

THE gentleman, who has publiſhed an anſwer * to Sir William Meredith's prmphlet, having honoured me with a poſtſcript of ſix quarto pages, which he moderately calls, beſtowing *very* few words upon me, I cannot, in common politeneſs, refuſe him a reply. The form and magnitude of a quarto impoſes upon the mind, and men, who are unequal to the labour of diſcuſſing an intricate argument, or wiſh to avoid

* This pamphlet is entitled, *An Anſwer to the Queſtion ſtated*, &c.

it,

ſt, are willing enough to ſuppoſe, that much has been proved, becauſe much has been ſaid. Mine, I confeſs, are humble labours. I do not preſume to inſtruct the learned, but ſimply to inform the body of the people; and I prefer that channel of conveyance, which is likely to ſpread fartheſt among them. The advocates of the miniſtry ſeem to me to write for fame, and to flatter themſelves, that the ſize of their works will make them immortal. They pile up reluctant quarto upon ſolid folio, as if their labours, becauſe they are gigantic, could contend with truth and heaven.

The writer of the volume in queſtion meets me upon my own ground. He acknowledges there is no ſtatute, by which the ſpecific diſability we ſpeak of is created, but he affirms that the cuſtom of parliament has been referred to, and that a caſe ſtrictly in point has been produced, with the deciſion of the court upon it.—I thank him for coming ſo fairly to the point. He aſſerts, that the caſe of Mr. Walpole, is ſtrictly in point to prove, that expulſion creates an abſolute incapacity of being re-elected; and for this purpoſe he refers generally to the firſt vote of the houſe upon that occaſion, without venturing to recite the vote itſelf. The unfair, diſingenuous artifice of adopting that part of a precedent, which ſeems to ſuit his purpoſe, and omitting the remainder, deſerves ſome pity, but cannot excite my reſentment. He takes advantage eagerly of the firſt reſolution, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity is declared; and as to the two following, by which the candidate with the feweſt votes was declared "not duly elected," and the elec-

tion itſelf vacated ; I dare ſay, he would be well ſatisfied, if they were for ever blotted out of the Journals of the houſe of commons. In fair argument, no part of a precedent ſhould be admitted, unleſs the whole of it be given to us together. The author has divided his precedent, for he knew that, taken together, it produced a conſequence directly the reverſe of that, which he endeavours to draw from a vote of expulſion. But what will this honeſt perſon ſay, if I take him at his word, and demonſtrate to him, that the houſe of commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity upon his expulſion only ? What ſubterfuge will then remain ?

Let it be remembered that we are ſpeaking of the intention of men, who lived more than half a century ago, and that ſuch intention can only be collected from their words and actions, as they are delivered to us upon record. To prove their deſigns by a ſuppoſition of what they would have done, oppoſed to what they actually did, is mere trifling and impertinence. The vote, by which Mr. Walpole's incapacity was declared, is thus expreſſed, " That Robert Walpole, Eſq; having " been this ſeſſion of parliament committed a " priſoner to the Tower, and expelled this houſe " for a breach of truſt in the execution of his of- " fice, and notorious corruption when ſecretary " at war, was and is incapable of being elected a " member to ſerve in this preſent parliament *."

Now,

* The miniſterial advocates quote this reſolution unfairly. They *alter* it to ſerve their purpoſe. In particular, ſee a tedious and laborious tract, generally aſcribed to Jer. Dyſon, Eſq. entitled, *The Caſe of the late Election for the county of Middleſex*

Now, Sir, to my underſtanding, no propoſition of this kind can be more evident, than that the houſe of commons, by this very vote, themſelves underſtood, and meant to declare, that Mr. Walpole's incapacity aroſe from the crimes he had committed, not from the puniſhment the houſe annexed to them. The high breach of truſt, the notorious corruption are ſtated in the ſtrongeſt terms. They do not tell us he was incapable, becauſe he was expelled, but becauſe he had been guilty of ſuch offences, as juſtly rendered him unworthy of a ſeat in parliament. If they had intended to fix the diſability upon his expulſion alone, the mention of his crimes in the ſame vote, would have been highly improper. It could only perplex the minds of the electors, who, if they collected any thing from ſo confuſed a declaration of the law of parliament, muſt have concluded, that their repreſentative had been declared incapable becauſe he was highly guilty, not becauſe he had been puniſhed. But even admitting them to have underſtood it in the other ſenſe, they muſt then, from the very terms of the vote, have united the idea of his being ſent to the Tower with that of his expulſion, and conſidered his incapacity as the joint effect of both.

I do not mean to give an opinion upon the juſtice of the proceedings of the houſe of commons, with regard to Mr. Walpole; but certainly, if I admitted their cenſure to be well founded, I could

dleſex conſidered, &c. in page 15, where this vote is thus recited: "Reſolved, That Robert Walpole, Eſq; having been "that ſeſſion of parliament expelled the houſe, *was* and is "incapable of being elected a member to ſerve in that pre-"ſent parliament."

no

no way avoid agreeing with them in the conſequence they drew from it. I could never have a doubt, in law or reaſon, that a man convicted of a high breach of truſt, and of a notorious corruption, in the execution of a public office, was and ought to be incapable of ſitting in the ſame parliament. Far from attempting to invalidate that vote, I ſhould have wiſhed that the incapacity declared by it could legally have been continued for ever.

Now, Sir, obſerve how forcibly the argument returns. The houſe of commons, upon the face of their proceedings, had the ſtrongeſt motives to declare Mr. Walpole incapable of being re-elected. They thought ſuch a man unworthy to ſit among them. To that point they proceeded no further; for they reſpected the rights of the people, while they aſſerted their own. They did not infer, from Mr. Walpole's incapacity, that his opponent was duly elected; on the contrary, they declared Mr. Taylor, "Not duly elected," and the election itſelf void.

Such, however, is the precedent, which my honeſt friend aſſures us is ſtrictly in point to prove, that expulſion of itſelf creates an incapacity of being elected. If it had been ſo, the preſent houſe of commons ſhould at leaſt have followed ſtrictly the example before them, and ſhould have ſtated to us, in the ſame vote, the crimes for which they expelled Mr. Wilkes; whereas they reſolve ſimply, that, "having been expelled, he was and is "incapable." In this proceeding, I am authoriſed to affirm, they have neither ſtatute nor cuſtom, nor reaſon, nor one ſingle precedent to ſupport them. On the other ſide, there is indeed a pre-

a precedent ſo ſtrongly in point, that all the inchanted caſtles of miniſterial magic fall before it. In the year 1698, (a period which the rankeſt Tory dare not except againſt) Mr. Wollaſton was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his ſeat in the ſame parliament. The miniſtry have precluded themſelves from all objections drawn from the cauſe of his expulſion, for they affirm abſolutely that expulſion of itſelf creates the diſability. Now, Sir, let ſophiſtry evade, let falſehood aſſert, and impudence deny ;——here ſtands the precedent, a land-mark to direct us through a troubled ſea of controverſy, conſpicuous and unremoved.

I have dwelt the longer upon the diſcuſſion of this point, becauſe in *my* opinion it comprehends the whole queſtion. The reſt is unworthy of notice. We are enquiring whether incapacity be or be not created by expulſion. In the caſes of Bedford and Malden, the incapacity of the perſons returned was matter of public notoriety, for it was created by act of parliament. But really, Sir, my honeſt friend's ſuppoſitions are as unfavourable to him as his facts. He well knows that the clergy, beſides that they are repreſented in common with their fellow ſubjects, have alſo a ſeparate parliament of their own ;—that their incapacity to ſit in the houſe of commons has been confirmed by repeated deciſions of the houſe, and that the law of parliament, declared by thoſe deciſions, has been for above two centuries notorious and undiſputed. The author is certainly at liberty to fancy caſes, and make whatever compariſons he thinks proper ; his ſuppoſitions ſtill continue at as great a diſtance from fact, as his wild diſcourſes are from ſolid argument.

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The concluſion of his book is candid to an extreme. He offers to grant me all I deſire. He thinks he may ſafely admit, that the caſe of Mr. Walpole makes directly againſt him, for it ſeems he has one grand ſolution *in petto* for all difficulties. *If*, ſays he, *I were to allow all this, it will only prove, that the law of election was different, in Queen Anne's time, from what it is at preſent.*

This indeed is more than I expected. The principle, I know, has been maintained in fact, but I never expected to ſee it ſo formally declared. What can he mean? does he aſſume this language to ſatisfy the doubts of the people, or does he mean to rouſe their indignation? Are the miniſtry daring enough to affirm that the houſe of commons have a right to make and unmake the law of parliament at their pleaſure?—Does the law of parliament, which we are ſo often told is the law of the land;—does the common right of every ſubject of the realm depend upon an arbitrary, capricious vote of one branch of the legiſlature?——The voice of truth and reaſon muſt be ſilent.

The miniſtry tell us plainly, that this is no longer a queſtion of right, but of power and force alone. What was law yeſterday is not law today: and now it ſeems we have no better rule to live by than the temporary diſcretion and fluctuating integrity of the houſe of commons.

Profeſſions of patriotiſm are become ſtale and ridiculous. For my own part, I claim no merit from endeavouring to do a ſervice to my fellow ſubjects. I have done it to the beſt of my underſtanding; and without looking for the approbation of other men, my conſcience is ſatisfied.

What

What remains to be done concerns the collective body of the people. They are now to determine for themſelves whether they will firmly and conſtitutionally aſſert their rights, or make an humble ſlaviſh ſurrender of them at the feet of the miniſtry. To a generous mind there cannot be a doubt. We owe it to our anceſtors to preſerve intire thoſe rights, which they have delivered to our care; we owe it to our poſterity, not to ſuffer their deareſt inheritance to be deſtroyed. But if it were poſſible for us to be inſenſible of theſe ſacred claims, there is yet an obligation binding upon ourſelves, from which nothing can acquit us,—a perſonal intereſt, which we cannot ſurrender. To alienate even our own rights, would be a crime as much more enormous than ſuicide, as a life of civil ſociety and freedom is ſuperior to a bare exiſtence; and if life be the bounty of heaven, we ſcornfully reject the nobleſt part of the gift, if we conſent to ſurrender that certain rule of living, without which the condition of human nature is not only miſerable, but contemptible.

JUNIUS.

The preceeding Letter not being thought ſufficiently explicit on ſo intereſting a Subject, the Writer added the following Explanation.

To the PRINTER.

SIR,

I Muſt beg of you to print a few lines in explanation of ſome paſſages in my laſt letter, which I ſee have been miſunderſtood.

1. When I ſaid that the houſe of commons never meant to found Mr. Walpole's incapacity on his expulſion *only*. I meant no more than to deny the general propoſition, that expulſion *alone* creates the incapacity. If there be any thing ambiguous in the expreſſion, I beg leave to explain it by ſaying, that, in my opinion, expulſion neither creates, nor in any part contributes to create the incapacity in queſtion.

2. I carefully avoided entering into the merits of Mr. Walpole's caſe. I did not enquire whether the houſe of commons acted juſtly, or whether they truly declared the law of parliament. My remarks went only to their apparent meaning and intention, as it ſtands declared in their own reſolution.

3. I never meant to affirm that a commitment to the Tower created a diſqualification. On the contrary, I conſidered that idea as an abſurdity into which the miniſtry muſt inevitably fall, if they reaſoned right upon their own principles.

The caſe of Mr. Wollaſton ſpeaks for itſelf. The miniſtry aſſert, that expulſion alone creates

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an abſolute, complete incapacity to be re-elected to ſit in the ſame parliament. This propoſition they have uniformly maintained, without any condition of modification whatſoever. Mr. Wollaſton was expelled, re-elected, and admitted to take his ſeat in the ſame parliament.—I leave it to the public to determine, whether this be a plain matter of fact, or mere nonſenſe and declamation.

JUNIUS.

To Dr. William Blackſtone, *Solicitor General to her Majeſty.*

SIR,

I Shall make you no apology for conſidering a certain pamphlet*, in which your late conduct is defended, as written by yourſelf. The perſonal intereſt, the perſonal reſentments, and above all, that wounded ſpirit, unaccuſtomed to reproach, and I hope not frequently conſcious of deſerving it, are ſignals which betray the author to us as plainly as if your name were in the title page. You appeal to the public in defence of your reputation. We hold it, Sir, that an injury offered to an individual is intereſting to ſociety. On this principle the people of England made common cauſe with Mr. Wilkes. On this principle, if *you* are injured, they will join in your re-

* This little tract is entitled, *A Letter to the Author of the Queſtion ſtated.*

ſentment. I ſhall not follow you through the inſipid form of a third perſon, but addreſs myſelf to you directly.

You ſeem to think the channel of a pamphlet more reſpectable and better ſuited to the dignity of your cauſe, than that of a news-paper. Be it ſo. Yet if news-papers are ſcurrilous, you muſt confeſs they are impartial. They give us, without any apparent preference, the wit and argument of the miniſtry, as well as the abuſive dulneſs of the oppoſition. The ſcales are equally poiſed. It is not the printer's fault if the greater weight inclines the balance.

Your pamphlet then is divided into an attack upon Mr. Grenville's character, and a defence of your own. It would have been more conſiſtent perhaps with your profeſſed intentions, to have confined yourſelf to the laſt. But anger has ſome claim to indulgence, and railing is uſually a relief to the mind. I hope you have found benefit from the experiment. It is not my deſign to enter into a formal vindication of Mr. Grenville upon his own principles. I have neither the honour of being perſonally known to him, nor do I pretend to be completely maſter of the facts. I need not run the riſque of doing an injuſtice to his opinions or to his conduct, when your pamphlet alone carries, upon the face of it, a full vindication of both.

Your firſt reflection is, that Mr. Grenville was of all men the perſon, who ſhould not have complained of inconſiſtence with regard to Mr. Wilkes. This, Sir, is either an unmeaning ſneer, a peeviſh expreſſion of reſentment, or, if it means any thing, you plainly beg the queſtion; for,

whether

whether his parliamentary conduct with regard to Mr. Wilkes has or has not been inconſiſtent, remains yet to be proved. But it ſeems he received upon the ſpot a ſufficient chaſtiſement for exerciſing *ſo unfairly* his talent of miſrepreſentation *. You are a lawyer, Sir, and know better than I do, upon what particular occaſions a talent for miſrepreſentation may be *fairly* exerted; but to puniſh a man a ſecond time, when he has been once ſufficiently chaſtiſed, is rather too ſevere. It is not in the laws of England; it is not in your own commentaries, nor is it yet, I believe, in the new law you have revealed to the houſe of commons. I hope this doctrine has no exiſtence but in your own heart. After all, Sir, if you had conſulted that ſober diſcretion, which you ſeem to oppoſe with triumph to the honeſt jollity of a tavern, it might have occurred to you that, although you could have ſucceeded in fixing a charge of inconſiſtence upon Mr. Grenville, it would not have tended in any ſhape to exculpate yourſelf.

Your next inſinuation, that Sir William Meredith had haſtily adopted the falſe gloſſes of his new

* The chaſtiſement here alluded to was this. Dr. Blackſtone while he was ſpeaking in the houſe, had not his commentaries in view; and when the contradiction produced by Mr. Grenville, ſtared him in the face, a pauſe enſued; and it was expected the doctor would have ſaid ſomething in his defence; but in the firſt moments of the charge, his preſence of mind failed him; and Mr. Grenville ſhook his head. It was then that Sir F---r N--- with his uſual elegance, wiſh'd *the Hon. Gentleman, inſtead of ſhaking his head, would ſhake a good argument out of it.* The Doctor had not then thought of thoſe ſubtleties and refinements which have ſince been urged in his defence.

new Ally is of the ſame ſort with the firſt. It conveys a ſneer as little worthy of the gravity of your character, as it is uſeleſs to your defence. It is of little moment to the public to enquire by whom the charge was conceived, or by whom it was adopted. The only queſtion we aſk is, whether or not it be true. The remainder of your reflections upon Mr. Grenville's conduct deſtroy themſelves. He could not poſſibly come prepared to traduce your integrity to the houſe. He could not foreſee that you would even ſpeak upon the queſtion, much leſs could he foreſee that you would maintain a direct contradiction of that doctrine which you had ſolemnly, diſintereſtedly, and upon ſobereſt reflection delivered to the public *. He came armed indeed with what he thought a reſpectable authority, to ſupport what he was convinced was the cauſe of truth, and I doubt not he intended to give you, in the courſe of the debate, an honourable and public teſtimony of his eſteem. Thinking highly of his abilities, I cannot however allow him the gift of divination. As to what you are pleaſed to call a plan coolly formed to impoſe upon the houſe of commons, and his producing it without provocation at midnight, I conſider it as the language of pique and invective, therefore unworthy of regard. But, Sir, I am ſenſible I have followed your example too long, and wandered from the point.

The

* Mr. Grenville, upon the debate, in order to prove to the Houſe inconteſtably that Mr. W. was under no legal diſqualification at the time of his election, produced a paſſage from Dr. Blackſtone's book, in which all the legal diſqualifications were recited, not one of which affected Mr. Wilkes.

The quotation from your commentaries is matter of record. It can neither be *altered* by your friends, nor misrepresented by your enemies, and I am willing to take your own word for what you said in the house of commons. If there be a real difference between what you have written and what you have spoken, you confess that your book ought to be the standard. Now, Sir, if words mean any thing, I apprehend that when a long enumeration of disqualifications (whether by statute or the custom of parliament) concludes with these general comprehensive words, 'but subject 'to these restrictions and disqualifications, *every* 'subject of the realm is eligible of common 'right,' a reader of a plain understanding must of course rest satisfied that no species of disqualifications whatsoever had been omitted. The known character of the author, and the apparent accuracy with which the whole work is compiled, would confirm him in his opinion; nor could he possibly form any other judgment, without looking upon your commentaries in the same light in which you consider those penal laws, which though not repealed are fallen into disuse, and are now in effect A SNARE TO THE UNWARY.

You tell us indeed that it was not part of your plan to specify any temporary incapacity, and that you could not, without a spirit of prophecy, have specified the disability of a private individual, subsequent to the period at which you wrote. What your plan was I know not; but what it should have been, in order to compleat the work you have given us, is by no means difficult to determine. The incapacity, which you call temporary,

porary, may continue ſeven years; and though you might not have foreſeen the particular caſe of Mr. Wilkes, you might and ſhould have foreſeen the poſſibility of *ſuch* a caſe, and told us how far the houſe of commons were authorized to proceed in it by the law and cuſtom of parliament. The freeholders of Middleſex would then have known what they had to truſt to, and would never have returned Mr. Wilkes, when colonel Luttrell was a candidate againſt him. They would have choſe ſome indifferent perſon rather than ſubmit to be repreſented by the object of their contempt and deteſtation.

Your attempt to diſtinguiſh between diſabilities, which affect whole claſſes of men, and thoſe which affect individuals only, is really unworthy of your underſtanding. Your commentaries had taught me that, although the inſtance, in which a penal law is exerted, be particular, the laws themſelves are general. They are made for the benefit and inſtruction of the public, though the penalty falls only upon an individual. You cannot but know, Sir, that what was Mr. Wilkes's caſe yeſterday may be your's or mine to-morrow, and that conſequently the common right of every ſubject of the realm is invaded by it. Profeſſing therefore to treat of the conſtitution of the houſe of commons, and of the laws and cuſtoms relative to that conſtitution, you certainly were guilty of a moſt unpardonable omiſſion, in taking no notice of a right and privilege of the houſe, more extraordinary and more arbitrary than all the others they poſſeſs put together. If the expulſion of a member, not under any other legal diſability,

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of itſelf creates in him an incapacity to be re-elected, I ſee a ready way marked out, by which the majority may at any time remove the honeſteſt and ableſt men who happen to be in oppoſition to them. To ſay that they *will not* make this extravagant uſe of their power, would be a language unfit for a man ſo learned in the laws as you are. By your doctrine, Sir, they *have* the power, and laws you know are intended to guard againſt what men *may* do, not to truſt to what they will do.

Upon the whole, Sir, the charge againſt you is of a plain, ſimple nature: It appears even upon the face of your own pamphlet. On the contrary, your juſtification of yourſelf is full of ſubtlety and refinement, and in ſome places not very intelligible. If I were perſonally your enemy, I ſhould dwell, with a malignant pleaſure, upon thoſe great and uſeful qualifications, which you certainly poſſeſs, and by which you once acquired, though they could not preſerve to you the reſpect and eſteem of your country, I ſhould enumerate the honours you have loſt, and the virtues you have diſgraced: But having no private reſentments to gratify, I think it ſufficient to have given my opinion of your public conduct, leaving the puniſhment it deſerves to your cloſet and to yourſelf.

JUNIUS.

To the Printer.

SIR,

I Find myſelf unexpectedly married in the Newspapers, without my knowledge or conſent. Since I am fated to be a huſband, I hope at leaſt the lady will perform the principal duty of a wife. Marriages, they ſay, are made in heaven, but they are conſummated upon earth; and ſince *Junia* § has adopted my name, ſhe cannot, in common matrimonial decency, refuſe to make me a tender of her perſon. Politics are too barren a ſubject for a new-married couple. I ſhould be glad to furniſh her with one more fit for a lady to handle, and better ſuited to the natural dexterity of her ſex. In ſhort if *Junia* be young and handſome, ſhe will have no reaſon to complain of my method of conducting an argument. I abominate all tergiverſation in diſcourſe, and ſhe may be aſſured that whatever I advance, whether it be weak or forcible, ſhall, at any rate, be directly in point. It is true I am a ſtrenuous advocate for liberty and property, but when theſe rights are invaded by a pretty woman, I am neither able to defend my money nor my freedom. The divine right of beauty is the only one an Engliſhman ought to acknowledge, and a pretty woman the only tyrant he is not authoriſed to reſiſt.

JUNIUS.

§ The ſignature of a letter in the Papers.

To his Grace the D—— *of* B——.

MY LORD, *Sept.* 18. 1769.

YOU are ſo little accuſtomed to receive any marks of reſpect or eſteem from the public, that if, in the following lines, a compliment or expreſſion of applauſe ſhould eſcape me, I fear you would conſider it as a mockery of your eſtabliſhed character, and perhaps an inſult to your underſtanding. You have nice feelings, my Lord, if we may judge from your reſentments. Cautious therefore of giving offence, where you have ſo little deſerved it, I ſhall leave the illuſtration of your virtues to other hands. Your friends have a privilege to play upon the eaſineſs of your temper, or poſſibly they are better acquainted with your good qualities than I am. You have done good by ſtealth. The reſt is upon record. You have ſtill left ample room for ſpeculation, when panegyric is exhauſted.

You are indeed a very conſiderable man. The higheſt rank;—a ſplendid fortune; and a name, glorious till it was yours, were ſufficient to have ſupported you with meaner abilities than I think you poſſeſs. From the firſt, you derived a conſtitutional claim to reſpect; from the ſecond, a natural extenſive authority;—the laſt created a partial expectation of hereditary virtues. The uſe you have made of theſe uncommon advantages might have been more honourable to yourſelf,

but could not be more inſtructive to mankind. We may trace it in the veneration of your country, the choice of your friends, and in the accompliſhment of every ſanguine hope, which the public might have conceived from the illuſtrious name of R——l.

The eminence of your ſtation gave you a commanding proſpect of your duty. The road, which led to honour, was open to your view. You could not loſe it by miſtake, and you had no temptation to depart from it by deſign. Compare the natural dignity and importance of the richeſt Peer of England; — the noble independence which he might have maintained in parliament; and the real intereſt and reſpect which he might have acquired, not only in parliament, but through the whole kingdom. Compare theſe glorious diſtinctions with the ambition of holding a ſhare in government, the emoluments of a place, the ſale of a borough, or the purchaſe of a corporation: and though you may not regret the virtues which create reſpect, you may ſee, with anguiſh, how much real importance and authority you have loſt. Conſider the character of an independent virtuous Duke of ———; imagine what he might be in this country, then reflect one moment upon what you are. If it be poſſible for me to withdraw my attention from the fact, I will tell you in theory what ſuch a man might be.

Conſcious of his own weight and importance, his conduct in parliament would be directed by nothing but the conſtitutional duty of a peer. He would conſider himſelf as a guardian of the laws. Willing to ſupport the juſt meaſures of government, but determined to obſerve the conduct of

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the miniſter with ſuſpicion, he would oppoſe the violence of faction with as much firmneſs, as the encroachments of prerogative. He would be as little capable of bargaining with the miniſter for places for himſelf, or his dependants, as of deſcending to mix himſelf in the intrigues of oppoſition. Whenever an important queſtion called for his opinion in parliament, he would be heard, by the moſt profligate miniſter, with deference and reſpect. His authority would either ſanctify or diſgrace the meaſures of government——The people would look up to him as to their protector, and a virtuous prince would have one honeſt man in his dominions, in whoſe integrity and judgment he might ſafely confide. If it ſhould be the will of Providence to afflict him with a domeſtic misfortune, he would ſubmit to the ſtroke, with feeling, but not without dignity. He would conſider the people as his children, and receive a generous heart-felt conſolation, in the ſympathiſing tears, and bleſſings of his country.

Your Grace may probably diſcover ſomething more intelligible in the negative part of this illuſtrious character. The man I have deſcribed would never proſtitute his dignity in parliament by an indecent violence either in oppoſing or defending a miniſter. He would not at one moment rancorouſly perſecute, at another baſely cringe to the favourite of his S———n. After outraging the royal dignity with peremptory conditions, little ſhort of menace and hoſtility, he would never deſcend to the humility of ſoliciting an interview with the Favourite, and of offering to recover, at any price, the honour of his friendſhip. Though deceived perhaps in his youth, he would not,

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through the courſe of a long life, have invariably choſen his friends from among the moſt profligate of mankind. His own honour would have forbidden him from mixing his private pleaſures or converſation with jockeys, gameſters, blaſphemers, gladiators, or buffoons. He would then have never felt, much leſs would he have ſubmitted to the humiliating diſhoneſt neceſſity, of engaging in the intereſts and intrigues of his dependants, of ſupplying their vices, or relieving their beggary, at the expence of his country. He would not have betrayed ſuch ignorance, or ſuch contempt of the conſtitution, as openly to avow in a court of juſtice, the purchaſe and ſale of a borough. He would not have thought it conſiſtent with his rank in the ſtate, or even with his perſonal importance, to be the little tyrant of a little corporation. He would never have been inſulted with virtues, which he had laboured to extinguiſh, nor ſuffered the diſgrace of a mortifying defeat, which has made him ridiculous and contemptible, even to the few by whom he was not deteſted.——I reverence the afflictions of a good man—his ſorrows are ſacred. But how can we take part in the diſtreſſes of a man, whom we can neither love nor eſteem ; or feel for a calamity, of which he himſelf is inſenſible ? Where was the father's heart, when he could look for, or find an immediate conſolation for the loſs of an only ſon, in conſultations and bargains for a place at court, and even in the miſery of balloting at the India Houſe !

Admitting then that you have miſtaken or deſerted thoſe honourable principles, which ought to have directed your conduct ; admitting, that you have

have as little claim to private affection as to public eſteem, let us ſee with what abilities, with what degree of judgment you have carried your own ſyſtem into execution. A great man, in the ſucceſs and even in the magnitude of his crimes, finds a reſcue from contempt. Your Grace is every way unfortunate. Yet I will not look back to thoſe ridiculous ſcenes, by which, in your earlier days, you thought it an honour to be diſtinguiſhed; the recorded ſtripes, the public infamy, your own ſufferings, or Mr. Rigby's fortitude. Theſe events undoubtedly left an impreſſion, though not upon your mind. To ſuch a mind, it may perhaps be a pleaſure to reflect, that there is hardly a corner of any of his Majeſty's kingdoms, except France, in which, at one time or other, your valuable life has not been in danger. Amiable man! we ſee and acknowledge the protection of Providence, by which you have ſo often eſcaped the perſonal deteſtation of your fellow ſubjects, and are ſtill reſerved for the public juſtice of your country.

Your hiſtory begins to be important at that auſpicious period, at which you were deputed to repreſent the Earl of Bute, at the court of Verſailles. It was an honourable office, and executed with the ſame ſpirit with which it was accepted. Your patrons wanted an ambaſſador, who would ſubmit to make conceſſions, without daring to inſiſt upon any honourable condition for his Sovereign. Their buſineſs required a man, who had as little feeling for his own dignity, as for the welfare of his country; and they found him in the firſt rank of the nobility. Belleiſle, Goree, Guadaloupe, St. Lucia, Martinique, the Fiſhery, and the Ha-

vannah,

vannah, are glorious monuments of your Grace's talents for negociation. My Lord, we are too well acquainted with your pecuniary character, to think it poſſible that ſo many public ſacrifices ſhould have been made, without ſome private compenſations. Your conduct carries with it an interior evidence, beyond all the legal proofs of a court of juſtice. Even the callous pride of Lord Egremont was alarmed. He ſaw and felt his own diſhonour in correſponding with you; and there certainly was a moment, at which he meant to have reſiſted, had not a fatal lethargy prevailed over his faculties, and carried all ſenſe and memory away with it.

I will not pretend to ſpecify the ſecret terms on which you were invited to ſupport an adminiſtration which Lord Bute pretended to leave in full poſſeſſion of their miniſterial authority, and perfectly maſters of themſelves. He was not of a temper to relinquiſh power, though he retired from employment. Stipulations were certainly made between your Grace and him, and certainly violated. After two years ſubmiſſion, you thought you had collected a ſtrength ſufficient to controul his influence, and that it was your turn to be a tyrant, becauſe you had been a ſlave. When you found yourſelf miſtaken in your opinion of your gracious Maſter's firmneſs, diſappointment got the better of all your humble diſcretion, and carried you to an exceſs of outrage to his perſon, as diſtant from true ſpirit, as from all decency and reſpect. After robbing him of the rights of a King, you would not permit him to preſerve the honour of a gentleman. It was then Lord Weymouth was nominated to Ireland, and diſpatched

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(we well remember with what indecent hurry) to plunder the treaſury of the firſt fruits of an employment which you well knew he was never to execute.

This ſudden declaration of war againſt the Favourite, might have given you a momentary merit with the public, if it had either been adopted upon principle, or maintained with reſolution. Without looking back to all your former ſervility, we need only obſerve your ſubſequent conduct, to ſee upon what motives you acted. Apparently united with Mr. Grenville, you waited until Lord Rockingham's feeble adminiſtration ſhould diſſolve in its own weakneſs.—The moment their diſmiſſion was ſuſpected, the moment you perceived that another ſyſtem was adopted in the cloſet; you thought it no diſgrace to return to your former dependance, and ſolicit once more the friendſhip of Lord Bute. You begged an interview, at which he had ſpirit enough to treat you with contempt.

It would now be of little uſe to point out, by what a train of weak, injudicious meaſures, it became neceſſary, or was thought ſo, to call you back to a ſhare in the adminiſtration. The friends, whom you did not in the leaſt inſtance deſert, were not of a character to add ſtrength or credit to government; and at that time your alliance with the Duke of Grafton was, I preſume, hardly foreſeen. We muſt look for other ſtipulations, to account for that ſudden reſolution of the cloſet, by which three of your dependants (whoſe characters, I think, cannot be leſs reſpected than they are) were advanced to offices, through which you might again controul the miniſter, and probably engroſs the whole direction of affairs.

The poſſeſſion of abſolute power is now once more within your reach. The meaſures you have taken to obtain and confirm it, are too groſs to eſcape the eyes of a diſcerning judicious prince. His palace is beſieged; the lines of circumvallation are drawing round him; and unleſs he finds a reſource in his own activity, or in the attachment of the real friends of his family, the beſt of princes muſt ſubmit to the confinement of a ſtate priſoner, until your Grace's death, or ſome leſs fortunate event, ſhall raiſe the ſiege. For the preſent, you may ſafely reſume that ſtile of inſult and menace, which even a private gentleman cannot ſubmit to hear without being contemptible. Mr. Mackenzie's hiſtory is not yet forgotten, and you may find precedents enough of the mode in which an imperious ſubject may ſignify his pleaſure to his ſovereign. Where will this gracious monarch look for aſſiſtance, when the wretched G——n could forget his obligations to his maſter, and deſert him for a hollow alliance with ſuch a man as the Duke of ——————?

Let us conſider you, then, as arrived at the ſummit of worldly greatneſs: let us ſuppoſe, that all your plans of avarice and ambition are accompliſhed, and your moſt ſanguine wiſhes gratified in the fear, as well as the hatred of the people: Can Age itſelf forget that you are now in the laſt act of life? Can grey hairs make folly venerable? And is there no period to be reſerved for meditation and retirement? For ſhame! my Lord: Let it not be recorded of you, that the lateſt moments of your life were dedicated to the ſame unworthy purſuits, the ſame buſy agitations,

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in which your youth and manhood were exhauſted. Conſider that, although you cannot diſgrace your former life, you are violating the character of age, and expoſing the impotent imbecillity, after you have loſt the vigour, of the paſſions.

Your friends will aſk, perhaps, Whither ſhall this unhappy old man retire? Can he remain in the metropolis, where his life has been ſo often threatened, and his palace ſo often attacked? If he returns to W——n, ſcorn and mockery await him. He muſt create a ſolitude round his eſtate, if he would avoid the face of reproach and deriſion. At Plymouth, his deſtruction would be more than probable; at Exeter, inevitable. No honeſt Engliſhman will ever forget his attachment, nor any honeſt Scotchman forgive his treachery to Lord Bute. At every town he enters, he muſt change his liveries and his name. Which ever way he flies, the *Hue and Cry* of the country purſues him.

In another kingdom indeed, the bleſſings of his adminiſtration have been more ſenſibly felt;—his virtues better underſtood;—or at worſt, they will not, for him alone, forget their hoſpitality. —As well might VERRES have returned to Sicily. You have twice eſcaped, my Lord; beware of a third experiment. The indignation of a whole people, plundered, inſulted, and oppreſſed as they have been, will not always be diſappointed.

It is in vain therefore to ſhift the ſcene. You can no more fly from your enemies than from yourſelf. Perſecuted abroad, you look into your own heart for conſolation, and find nothing but reproaches and deſpair. But, my Lo d, you may

quit the field of buſineſs, though not the field of danger; and though you cannot be ſafe, you may ceaſe to be ridiculous. I fear you have liſtened too long to the advice of thoſe pernicious friends, with whoſe intereſts you have fordidly united your own, and for whom you have ſacrificed every thing that ought to be dear to a man of honour. They are ſtill baſe enough to encourage the follies of your age, as they once did the vices of your youth. As little acquainted with the rules of decorum, as with the laws of morality, they will not ſuffer you to profit by experience, nor even to conſult the propriety of a bad character. Even now they tell you, that life is no more than a dramatic ſcene, in which the hero ſhould preſerve his conſiſtency to the laſt, and that as you lived without virtue, you ſhould die without repentance.

JUNIUS.

A Word *at parting to* Junius.

SIR, *Clifton, Oct.* 7, 1769.

AS you have not favoured me with either of the *explanations* demanded of you, I can have nothing more to ſay to you upon my own account. Your mercy to me, or tenderneſs to yourſelf, has been very great. The public will judge of your *motives*. If your exceſs of modeſty forbids you to produce either the proofs, or yourſelf, I will excuſe it. Take courage, I have not the

the temper of Tiberius, any more than the rank or power. You, indeed, are a tyrant of another ſort, and upon your political bed of tortures can excruciate any ſubject, from a firſt miniſter down to ſuch a grub or butterfly as myſelf: like another deteſted tyrant of antiquity can make the wretched ſufferer fit the bed, if the bed will not fit the ſufferer by diſjointing or tearing the trembling limbs until they are ſtretched to its extremity. But courage, conſtancy and patience, under torments have ſometimes cauſed the moſt hardened monſters to relent, and forgive the object of their cruelty. You, Sir, are determined to try all that human nature can endure, until ſhe expires: elſe was it poſſible that you could be the author of that inhuman letter to the Duke of ——? I have read it with aſtoniſhment and horror; where, Sir, where were the feelings of your own heart, when you could upbraid a moſt affectionate father with the loſs of his only and moſt amiable ſon? Read over again thoſe cruel lines of yours, and let them wring your very ſoul! Cannot political queſtions be diſcuſſed without deſcending to the moſt odious Perſonalities? Muſt you go wantonly out of your way to torment declining age, becauſe the Duke of —— may have quarrelled with thoſe whoſe cauſe and politics you eſpouſe? For ſhame! For ſhame! As you have *ſpoke daggers* to him, you may juſtly dread the *uſe* of them againſt your own breaſt, did a want of courage, or of noble ſentiments ſtimulate him to ſuch a mean revenge. He is above it; he is brave. Do you fancy your own baſe arts have infected our whole iſland? But your own reflections, your own conſcience, muſt and will, if you have any ſpark

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of humanity remaining, give him moſt ample vengeance. Not all the power of words with which you are ſo graced will ever waſh out or even palliate this foul blot in your character. I have not time at preſent to diſſect your letter ſo minutely as I could wiſh, but I will be bold enough to ſay, that it is (as to reaſon and argument) the moſt extraordinary piece of *florid impotence* that was ever impoſed upon the eyes and ears of the too credulous and deluded mob. It accuſes the Duke of —— of high treaſon. Upon what foundation? You tell us " that the Duke's *pecuniary character* makes it more than *probable*, that he could not have made ſuch ſacrifices at the peace, without *ſome private compenſations*; that his conduct carried with it an interior evidence beyond all the legal proofs of a court of juſtice."

My academical education, Sir, bids me tell you that it is neceſſary to eſtabliſh the *truth* of your firſt propoſition, before you preſume to draw inferences from it. Firſt prove the avarice before you make the raſh, haſty and moſt wicked concluſion. This father, *Junius*, whom you call avaricious, allowed that ſon eight thouſand pounds a year. Upon his moſt unfortunate death, which your uſual good-nature took care to remind him of, he greatly encreaſed the jointure of the afflicted Lady, his widow. Is this avarice? Is this doing good by *Stealth?* It is upon record.

If exact order, method, and true œconomy as a maſter of a family; if ſplendor and juſt magnificence, without wild waſte and thoughtleſs extravagance, may conſtitute the character of an avaricious man, the Duke is guilty. But for a moment let us admit that an ambaſſador may love

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money too much; what proof do you give that he has taken any to betray his country? Is it hear-ſay, or the evidence of letters; or ocular, or the evidence of thoſe concerned in this black af-fair? Produce your authorities to the public. It is a moſt impudent kind of ſorcery to attempt to blind us with the ſmoke, without convincing us that the fire has exiſted. You firſt brand him with a vice that he is free from, to render him odi-ous and ſuſpected. Suſpicion is the foul weapon with which you make all your chief attacks; with that you ſtab. But ſhall one of the firſt ſub-jects of the realm be ruined in his fame; ſhall even his life be in conſtant danger from a charge built upon ſuch ſandy foundations? Muſt his houſe be beſieged by lawleſs ruffians, his jour-nies impeded, and even the aſylum of an altar be inſecure from aſſertions ſo baſe and falſe? Potent as he is, the Duke is amenable to juſtice; if guilty, puniſhable. The parliament is the high and ſo-lemn tribunal for matters of ſuch great moment. To that be they ſubmitted. But I hope alſo that ſome notice will be taken of, and ſome puniſh-ment inflicted upon, falſe accuſers, eſpecially up-on ſuch, *Junius*, who are *wilfully falſe*. In any truth I will agree even with *Junius*; will agree with him that it is highly unbecoming the dig-nity of Peers to tamper with boroughs. Ariſto-cracy is as fatal as democracy. Our conſtituti-on admits of neither. It loves a King, Lords and Commons really choſen by the unbought ſuffrages of a free people. But if corruption only ſhifts hands; if the wealthy commoner gives the bribe, inſtead of the potent peer, is the ſtate better ſerved by this exchange? Is the real eman-

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cipation of the borough effected, becauſe new parchment bonds may poſſibly ſuperſede the old? To ſay the truth, wherever ſuch practices prevail, they are equally criminal to and deſtructive of our freedom.

The reſt of your declamation is ſcarce worth conſidering, excepting for the elegance of the language. Like Hamlet in the play, you produce two pictures; you tell us, that one is not like the Duke of ——, then you bring a moſt hideous caricatura, and tell us of the reſemblance; but *multum abludit imago*.

All your long tedious accounts of the miniſterial quarrels, and the intrigues of the cabinet, are reducible to a few ſhort lines; and to convince you, Sir, that I do not mean to flatter any miniſter, either paſt or preſent; theſe are my thoughts: they ſeem to have acted like lovers, or children; have pouted, quarrelled, cry'd, kiſſed, and been friends again, as the objects of deſire, the miniſterial rattles, have been put into their hands. But ſuch proceedings are very unworthy of the gravity and dignity of a great nation. We do not want men of abilities; but we have wanted ſteadineſs; we want unanimity: your letters, *Junius*, will not contribute thereto. You may one day expire by a flame of your own kindling. But it is my humble opinion that lenity and moderation, pardon and oblivion, will diſappoint the efforts of all the ſeditious in the land; and extinguiſh their wide ſpreading fires. I have lived with this ſentiment, with this I ſhall die.

W. D.

JUNIUS's *Reply*.

October 13, 1769.

IF Sir William Draper's bed be a bed of torture, he has made it for himſelf. I ſhall never interrupt his repoſe. Having changed the ſubject, there are parts of his laſt letter not undeſerving of a reply. Leaving his private character and conduct out of the queſtion, I ſhall conſider him merely in the capacity of an author, whoſe labours certainly do no diſcredit to a news-paper.

We ſay, in common diſcourſe, that a man may be his own enemy, and the frequency of the fact makes the expreſſion intelligible. But that a man ſhould be the bittereſt enemy of his friends, implies a contradiction of a peculiar nature. There is ſomething in it which cannot be conceived without a confuſion of ideas, nor expreſſed without a ſoleciſm in language. Sir William Draper is ſtill that fatal friend Lord Granby found him. Yet I am ready to do juſtice to his generoſity; if indeed it be not ſomething more than generous to be the voluntary advocate of men who think themſelves injured by his aſſiſtance, and to conſider nothing in the cauſe he adopts, but the difficulty of defending it. I thought, however, he had been better read in the hiſtory of the human heart, than to compare or confound the tortures of the body with thoſe of the mind. He ought to have known, though, perhaps, it might not be his intereſt to confeſs, that no outward tyranny

can reach the mind. If conſcience plays the tyrant, it would be greatly for the benefit of the world, that ſhe were more arbitrary and far leſs placable than ſome men find her.

But it ſeems I have outraged the feelings of a father's heart———Am I indeed ſo injudicious? Does Sir William Draper think I would have hazarded my credit with a generous nation, by ſo groſs a violation of the laws of humanity? Does he think I am ſo little acquainted with the firſt and nobleſt characteriſtic of Engliſhmen? Or how will he reconcile ſuch folly with an underſtanding ſo full of artifice as mine? Had *he* been a father, he would have been but little offended with the ſeverity of the reproach, for his mind would have been filled with the juſtice of it. He would have ſeen that I did not inſult the feelings of a father, but the father who felt nothing. He would have truſted to the evidence of his own paternal heart, and boldly denied the poſſibility of the fact, inſtead of defending it. Againſt whom then will his honeſt indignation be directed, when I aſſure him, that this whole town beheld the D. of ——'s conduct, upon the death of his ſon, with horror and aſtoniſhment? Sir William Draper does himſelf but little honour, in oppoſing the general ſenſe of his country. The people are ſeldom wrong in their *opinions*;—in their ſentiments they are never miſtaken. There may be a vanity, perhaps, in a ſingular way of thinking; ——but when a man profeſſes a want of thoſe feelings, which do honour to the multitude, he hazards ſomething infinitely more important than the character of his underſtanding. After all, as Sir William may poſſibly be in earneſt, in his

anxiety

anxiety for the D. of ———, I ſhould be glad to relieve him from it. He may reſt aſſured, that this worthy nobleman laughs, with equal indifference, at *my* reproaches, and Sir William's diſtreſs about him. But here let it ſtop. Even the D. of ——, inſenſible as he is, will conſult the tranquillity of his life, in not provoking the moderation of my temper. If, from the profoundeſt contempt, I ſhould ever riſe into anger, he ſhould ſoon find, that all I have already ſaid of him was lenity and compaſſion.

Out of a long catalogue, Sir William Draper has confined himſelf to the refutation of two charges only. The reſt he had not time to diſcuſs; and, indeed, it would have been a laborious undertaking. To draw up a defence of ſuch a ſeries of enormities, would have required a life at leaſt as long as that which has been uniformly employed in the practice of them. The public opinion of the D. of ———'s extreme œconomy, is, it ſeems, entirely without foundation. Though not very prodigal abroad, in his own family, at leaſt, he is regular and magnificent. He pays his debts, abhors a beggar, and makes a handſome proviſion for his ſon. His charity has improved upon the proverb, and ended where it began. Admitting the whole force of this ſingle inſtance of his domeſtic generoſity (wonderful indeed, conſidering the narrowneſs of his fortune, and the little merit of his only ſon) the public may ſtill, perhaps, be diſſatisfied, and demand ſome other leſs equivocal proofs of his munificence. Sir William Draper ſhould have entered boldly into the detail—of indigence relieved;—of arts encouraged;—of ſcience patronized;——

men of learning protected, and works of genius rewarded;—in ſhort, had there been a ſingle inſtance, beſides Mr. Rigby, of bluſhing merit, brought forward by the Duke, for the ſervice of the public, it ſhould not have been omitted *.

I wiſh it were poſſible to eſtabliſh my inference with the ſame certainty, on which I believe the principle is founded. My concluſion, however, was not drawn from the principle alone. I am not ſo unjuſt as to reaſon from one crime to another; though I think that, of all the vices, avarice is moſt apt to taint and corrupt the heart. I combined the known temper of the man with the extravagant conceſſions made by the ambaſſador; and though I doubt not ſufficient care was taken to

* *The above paragraph produced the following Anſwer and Reply.*

To the PRINTER.

Perfectly convinced as I am of my own inability to enter the liſts, or uſe my pen, againſt the two-edged ſword that glitters in the hand of *Junius*, nothing but my being impelled by that uncommon kind of gratitude, which makes us not only thankful for benefits received, but inclines us to love and reſpect our benefactor, could tempt me forth to ſo unequal a combat, or prevail on me to offer even a fact to the public, through ſuch a channel as our news-papers.

Let my motive then plead my excuſe, while I reply to the charge which appears moſt difficult to be cleared, becauſe it is moſt general, which Junius has made againſt the D——of B——.

Junius calls upon Sir William Draper to "enter boldly into the detail of indigence relieved; of arts encouraged; of ſcience patronized; men of learning protected; and the works of genius rewarded."

Under any of theſe denominations, it muſt be extremely painful to a woman, whoſe higheſt merit ſhould be modeſty, and of courſe a *bluſhing merit*, to appear; yet truth and gratitude ought to ſurmount female delicacy ſo far, as to relate a matter of fact, which ſhe hopes will be one proof of the injuſtice of the charge here quoted againſt the D——— of B———.

When his Grace was Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, the ſeries of letters between Henry and Frances happened to fall into his hands.

In

to leave no document of any treaſonable negociation, I ſtill maintain that the conduct † of this miniſter carries with it an internal and a convincing evidence againſt him. Sir William Draper ſeems not to know the value or force of ſuch a proof. He will not permit us to judge of the motives of men, by the manifeſt tendency of their actions, nor by the notorious character of their minds. He calls for papers and witneſſes, with a ſort of triumphant ſecurity, as if nothing could be true, but what could be proved in a court of juſtice. Yet a religious man might have remembered, upon what foundation ſome truths, moſt

In the preface, Henry ſpeaks of the diſtreſſes of his fortune, and the juſtifiable means by which thoſe diſtreſſes were occaſioned.—His Grace's humanity was affected; he enquired into the author's ſituation, and on finding it to be what is there deſcribed, unſolicited by aught but his own noble nature, he ſent for Henry, and, in the moſt obliging and gracious manner, preſented him with a patent employment which was at that time vacant.

Sure I am, that many parallel, perhaps more meritorious, inſtances of his Grace's munificence, might be recounted, if thoſe, who like me, have partaken of them, had virtue ſufficient to acknowledge themſelves *obliged*, when they had received an *obligation*.

Oct. 14. FRANCES.

To the PRINTER.

I very ſincerely applaud the ſpirit with which a Lady has paid the debt of gratitude to her benefactor. Though I think ſhe has miſtaken the point, ſhe ſhews a virtue, which makes her reſpectable. The queſtion turned upon the perſonal generoſity or avarice of a man, whoſe private fortune is immenſe. The proofs of his munificence muſt be drawn from the uſes, to which he has applied that fortune. I was not ſpeaking of a Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, but of a rich Engliſh Duke, whoſe wealth gave him the means of doing as much good in this country as he derived from his power in another. I am far from wiſhing to leſſen the merit of this ſingle benevolent action;—perhaps it is the more conſpicuous from ſtanding alone. All I mean to ſay is, that it proves nothing in the preſent argument.

JUNIUS.

† If Sir W. D. will take the trouble of looking into Torcy's Memoirs, he will ſee with what little ceremony a bribe may be offered to a Duke, and with what litle ceremony it was *only not accepted*.

intereſting

intereſting to mankind, have been received and eſtabliſhed. If it were not for the internal evidence, which the pureſt of religions carries with it, what would have become of his once well quoted decalogue, and of the meekneſs of his chriſtianity?

The generous warmth of his reſentment makes him confound the order of events. He forgets that the inſults and diſtreſſes which the D. of ——— has ſuffered, and which Sir William has lamented with many delicate touches of the true pathetic, were only *recorded* in my letter to his Grace, not occaſioned by it. It was a ſimple, candid narrative of facts; though, for aught I know, it may carry with it ſomething prophetic. His grace undoubtedly has received ſeveral ominous hints; and I think, in certain circumſtances, a wiſe man would do well to prepare himſelf for the event.

But I have a charge of a heavier nature againſt Sir William Draper. He tells us that the D. of ——— is amenable to juſtice;—that Parliament is a high and ſolemn tribunal; and that if guilty, he may be puniſhed by due courſe of law; and all this he ſays with as much gravity as if he believed one word of the matter.———I hope indeed the day of impeachments will arrive, before this nobleman eſcapes out of life; but to refer us to that mode of proceeding now, with ſuch a miniſtry, and ſuch a ——— of c——— as the preſent, what is it but indecent mockery of the common ſenſe of the nation? I think he might have contented himſelf with defending the greateſt enemy, without inſulting the diſtreſſes of his country.

His

His concluding declaration of his opinion, with reſpect to the preſent condition of affairs, is too looſe and undetermined to be of any ſervice to the public. How ſtrange it is that this gentleman ſhould dedicate ſo much time and argument to the defence of worthleſs or indifferent characters, while he gives but ſeven ſolitary lines to the only ſubject which can deſerve his attention, or do credit to his abilities!

JUNIUS.

On the Reſcue of a General Officer from the Civil Power.

October 17, 1769.

IT is not wonderful that the great cauſe, in which this country is engaged, ſhould have rouſed and engroſſed the whole attention of the people. I rather admire the generous ſpirit with which they feel and aſſert their intereſt in this important queſtion, than blame them for their indifference about any other. When the conſtitution is openly invaded, when the firſt original right of the people, from which all laws derive their authority, is directly attacked, inferior grievances naturally loſe their force, and are ſuffered to paſs by without puniſhment or obſervation. The preſent miniſtry are as ſingularly marked by their fortune as by their crimes. Inſtead of atoning for their former conduct by any wiſe or popular meaſure, they have found, in the enormity

of

of one fact, a cover and defence for a ſeries of meaſures, which muſt have been fatal to any other adminiſtration. I fear we are too remiſs in obſerving the whole of their proceedings. Struck with the principal figure, we do not ſufficiently mark in what manner the canvas is filled up. Yet ſurely it is not a leſs crime, nor leſs fatal in its conſequences, to encourage a flagrant breach of the law by a military force, than to make uſe of the forms of parliament to deſtroy the conſtitution. The miniſtry ſeem determined to give us a choice of difficulties, and, if poſſible, to perplex us with the multitude of their offences. The expedient is well worthy of the Duke of G——. But though he has preſerved a gradation and variety in his meaſures, we ſhould remember the principle is uniform. Dictated by the ſame ſpirit, they deſerve the ſame attention. ——The following fact, though of the moſt alarming nature, has not yet been clearly ſtated to the public, nor have the conſequences of it been ſufficiently underſtood. Had I taken it up at an earlier period, I ſhould have been accuſed of an uncandid, malignant precipitation, as if I watched for an unfair advantage againſt the miniſtry, and would not allow them a reaſonable time to do their duty. They now ſtand without excuſe. Inſtead of employing the leiſure they have had, in a ſtrict examination of the offence, and puniſhing the offenders, they ſeem to have conſidered that indulgence, as a ſecurity to them, that with a little time and management the whole affair might be buried in ſilence and utterly forgotten.

A Major-General of the army is arreſted by the Sheriff's officers for a conſiderable debt. He perſuades

ſuades them to conduct him to the Tilt-yard in St. James's park, under ſome pretence of buſineſs, which it imported him to ſettle before he was confined. He applies to a ſerjeant, not immediately on duty, to aſſiſt with ſome of his companions in favouring his eſcape. He attempts it. A buſtle enſues. The bailiffs claim their priſoner. An officer of the guards, not then on duty, takes part in the affair, applies to the Lieutenant commanding the Tilt-yard guard, and urges him to turn out his guard to relieve a General Officer. The Lieutenant declines interfering in perſon, but ſtands at a diſtance, and ſuffers the buſineſs to be done. The other officer takes upon himſelf to order out the guard. In a moment they are in arms, quit their guard, march, reſcue the General, and drive away the Sheriff's officers, who in vain repreſent their right to the priſoner and the nature of the arreſt. The ſoldiers firſt conduct the General into their guard-room, then eſcort him to a place of ſafety, with bayonets fixed, and in all the forms of military triumph. I will not enlarge upon the various circumſtances, which attend this atrocious proceeding. The perſonal injury, received by the officers of the law, in the execution of their duty, may perhaps be atoned for by ſome private compenſation. I conſider nothing but the wound, which has been given to the law itſelf, to which no remedy has been applied, no ſatisfaction made. Neither is it my deſign to dwell on the miſconduct of the parties concerned, any farther than is neceſſary to ſhew the behaviour of the miniſtry in its true light. I would make every compaſſionate allowance for the infatuation of the priſoner, the falſe

and criminal diſcretion of one officer, and the madneſs of another. I would leave the ignorant ſoldiers entirely out of the queſtion. They are certainly the leaſt guilty, though they are the only perſons who have yet ſuffered, even in the appearance of puniſhment. The fact itſelf, however atrocious, is not the principal point to be conſidered. It might have happened under a more regular government, and with guards better diſciplined than ours. The main queſtion is, in what manner have the miniſtry acted on this extraordinary occaſion? A General Officer calls upon the King's own guard, then actually on duty, to reſcue him from the laws of his country; yet at this moment he is in a ſituation no worſe than if he had not committed an offence, equally enormous in a civil and military view. A Lieutenant upon duty deſignedly quits his guard, and ſuffers it to be drawn out by another officer, for a purpoſe which he well knew (as we may collect from an appearance of caution which only makes his behaviour the more criminal) to be in the higheſt degree illegal. Has this gentleman been called to a Court-martial, to anſwer for his conduct? No. Has it been cenſured? No. Has it been in any ſhape inquired into? No.———Another Lieutenant, not upon duty, nor even in his regimentals, is daring enough to order out the King's guard, over which he had properly no command, and engages them in a violation of the laws of his country, perhaps the moſt ſingular and extravagant that ever was attempted.——What puniſhment has *he* ſuffered? Literally none. Suppoſing he ſhould be proſecuted at common law for the reſcue, will that circumſtance, from which the

the miniſtry can derive no merit, excuſe or juſtify their ſuffering ſo flagrant a breach of military diſcipline to paſs by unpuniſhed and unnoticed? Are they aware of the outrage offered to their ſovereign, when his own proper guard is ordered out, to ſtop by main force, the execution of his laws? What are we to conclude from ſo ſcandalous a neglect of their duty, but that they have other views, which can only be anſwered by ſecuring the attachment of the guards? The miniſter would hardly be ſo cautious of offending them, if he did not mean, in due time, to call for their aſſiſtance.

With reſpect to the parties themſelves, let it be obſerved that theſe gentlemen are neither young officers, nor very young men. Had they belonged to the unfledged race of enſigns, who infeſt our ſtreets, and diſhonour our public places, it might perhaps be ſufficient to ſend them back to that diſcipline, from which their parents, judging lightly from the maturity of their vices, had removed them too ſoon. In this caſe, I am ſorry to ſee, not ſo much the folly of youth, as the ſpirit of the corps, and connivance of government. I do not queſtion that there are many brave and worthy officers in the regiments of guards. But conſidering them as a corps, I fear that it will be found that they are neither good ſoldiers nor good ſubjects. Far be it from me to inſinuate the moſt diſtant reflexion upon the army. On the contrary, I honour and eſteem the profeſſion; and if theſe gentlemen were better ſoldiers, I am ſure they would be better ſubjects. It is not that there is any internal vice or defect in the profeſſion itſelf as regulated in this country,

but that it is the ſpirit of this particular corps to deſpiſe their profeſſion, and that, while they vainly aſſume the lead of the army, they make it matter of impertinent compariſon and triumph over the braveſt troops in the world (I mean our marching regiments) that *they* indeed ſtand upon higher ground, and are privileged to neglect the laborious forms of military diſcipline and duty. Without dwelling longer upon a moſt invidious ſubject, I ſhall leave it to military men, who have ſeen a ſervice more active than the Parade, to determine whether or no I ſpeak truth.

How far this dangerous ſpirit has been encouraged by government, and to what pernicious purpoſes it may be applied hereafter, well deſerves our moſt ſerious conſideration. I know indeed that when this affair happened, an affectation of alarm ran through the miniſtry. Something muſt be done to ſave appearances. The caſe was too flagrant to be paſſed by abſolutely without notice. But how have they acted? Inſtead of ordering the officers concerned, and who ſtrictly ſpeaking are alone guilty, to be put under arreſt and brought to a trial, they would have it underſtood that they did their duty compleatly, in confining a ſerjeant and four private ſoldiers until they ſhould be demanded by the civil power; ſo that while the officers, who ordered or permitted the thing to be done, eſcape without cenſure, the poor men, who obey thoſe orders, who in a military view are no way reſponſible for what they did, and who for that reaſon have been diſcharged by the civil magiſtrate, are the only objects whom the miniſtry have thought proper to expoſe to puniſhment. They did not venture to bring even

theſe men to a court-martial, becauſe they knew their evidence would be fatal to ſome perſons, whom *they* were determined to protect. Otherwiſe, I doubt not, the lives of theſe unhappy, friendleſs ſoldiers would long ſince have been ſacrificed without ſcruple to the ſecurity of their guilty officers.

I have been accuſed of endeavouring to inflame the paſſions of the people.—Let me now appeal to their underſtanding. If there be any tool of adminiſtration daring enough to deny theſe facts, or ſhameleſs enough to defend the conduct of the miniſtry, let him come forward. I care not under what title he appears. He ſhall find me ready to maintain the truth of my narrative, and the juſtice of my obſervations upon it, at the hazard of my utmoſt credit with the public.

Under the moſt arbitrary governments, the common adminiſtration of juſtice is ſuffered to take its courſe. The ſubject, though robbed of his ſhare in the legiſlature, is ſtill protected by the laws. The political freedom of the Engliſh conſtitution was once the pride and honour of an Engliſhman. The civil equality of the laws preſerved the property, and defended the ſafety of the ſubject. Are theſe glorious privileges the birthright of the people, or are we only tenants at the will of the miniſtry ?——But that I know there is a ſpirit of reſiſtance in the hearts of my countrymen, that they value life, not by its conveniencies, but by the independence and dignity of their condition, I ſhould, at this moment, appeal only to their diſcretion. I ſhould perſuade them to baniſh from their minds all memory of what we were ; I ſhould tell them this is not a

time

time to remember that we were Engliſhmen; and give it as my laſt advice, to make ſome early agreement with the miniſter, that ſince it has pleaſed him to rob us of thoſe political rights, which once diſtinguiſhed the inhabitants of a country, where honour was happineſs, he would leave us at leaſt the humble obedient ſecurity of citizens, and graciouſly condeſcend to protect us in our ſubmiſſion.

JUNIUS.

To this Letter, a Writer who ſigned *Modeſtus*, publiſhed a long anſwer; of which the following is the moſt eſſential part:

" It is falſe that the General Officer applied to a Serjeant, not on duty, to favour his eſcape. It is falſe that the officer of the guard ſtood at a diſtance, and ſuffered the buſineſs to be done. He was ſpoke to by the other officer in the coffee-houſe, and he not only declined interfering in perſon, but flatly refuſed his aſſiſtance directly or indirectly. He did more; he diſſuaded his brother-officer from his intention, and believed he had prevailed. His only fault was, being the dupe of the other's apparent repentance, who left the coffee-houſe as if he intended to proceed no farther in the attempt; and took the opportunity to apply to ſome ſoldiers of the guard, while the officer who commanded it remained in the coffee-houſe. It is falſe that the guard was turned out, or under arms. And it is a moſt malicious conſtruction of the faireſt conduct, to blame adminiſtration, becauſe theſe gentlemen have not been puniſhed by military law.

" The truth is, that it was propoſed to try the offenders by military law, immediately after the offence was committed; but, in a conſultation with the civil magiſtrate, it was judged improper, leſt a military trial ſhould prejudge the action now depending, and in which the offenders are at preſent under bail. A fair trial is the right of every Engliſhman, whatever offence he may be guilty of. Our civil rights are our moſt precious bleſſings; and our form of trial is the bulwark of theſe rights; and, Sir, you contradict the principles you profeſs, when you endeavour to ſet up martial, in oppoſition to common law, and give that the lead which ought to follow. Had theſe gentlemen been firſt tried by military law, the evidences brought before a court-martial muſt have been afterwards examined in the courts of law; but witneſſes already examined upon oath, according to the arbitrary proceedings of a court-martial, cannot be unexceptionable in a ſubſequent civil

civil action. Their evidence, however extorted, would awe them to conceal, or diſguiſe the truth, which our form of Civil trial is ſo well calculated to diſcover. And you, Junius, a patriot, an aſſertor of the rights of Engliſhmen, would have declaimed and exclaimed, with ſome appearance of juſtice, againſt the proceedings of a court-martial, which ſhould have deprived theſe officers of that fair and legal trial, which they have a right, as Engliſhmen, to demand.

" Our military laws preſcribe the puniſhment of caſhiering, for offences of this nature. But how is this crime to be proved? Only by the verdict of a jury in a civil action; and the judgment upon it is evidence of record in the ſubſequent court-martial; but theſe are matters of which you are ignorant. You go on in your old method, to clap the cart before the horſe; and you would have puniſhed by military law, an offence which military law cannot take cognizance of, until it has been legally found one by the verdict of a jury. Thus, blinded your paſſion, or unacquainted with the conſtitution, you would overturn it, to wreak your reſentment againſt a miniſtry, which, in this inſtance at leaſt, has acted in its trueſt ſpirit."

To which Junius made the following Reply.

SIR, *Nov.* 15, 1769.

I ADMIT the claim of a gentleman, who publiſhes under the name of Modeſtus. He has ſome right to expect an anſwer from me; though, I think, not ſo much from the merit or importance of his objections, as from my own voluntary engagement. I had a reaſon for not taking notice of him ſooner, which, as he is a candid perſon, I believe he will think ſufficient. In my firſt letter, I took for granted, from the time which had elapſed, that there was no intention to cenſure, nor even to try the perſons concerned in the reſcue of General Ganſel; but Modeſtus having ſince either affirmed or ſtrongly inſinuated, that the offenders might ſtill be brought to a legal trial, any attempt to prejudice the cauſe, or to prejudice the minds of a Jury or a Court-Martial, would be highly improper.

A man, more hoſtile to the Miniſtry than I am, would not ſo often remind them of their duty.

duty. If the Duke of Grafton will not perform the duty of his ſtation, why is he Miniſter?—I will not deſcend to a ſcurrilous altercation with any man; but this is a ſubject too important to be paſſed over with a ſilent indifference. If the gentlemen, whoſe conduct is in queſtion, are not brought to a trial, the Duke of Grafton ſhall hear from me again.

The motives on which I am ſuppoſed to have taken up this cauſe, are of little importance, compared with the facts themſelves, and the obſervations I have made upon them. Without a vain profeſſion of integrity, which, in theſe times, might juſtly be ſuſpected, I ſhall ſhew myſelf in effect a friend to the intereſt of my countrymen, and leave it to them to determine, whether I am moved by a perſonal malevolence to three private gentlemen, or merely by a hope of perplexing the Miniſtry; or whether I am animated by a juſt and honourable purpoſe of obtaining a ſatisfaction to the laws of this country, equal, if poſſible, to the violation they have ſuffered.

JUNIUS.

To his Grace the Duke of GRAFTON.

My LORD, *Nov.* 29, 1769.

THOUGH my opinion of your Grace's integrity was but little affected by the coyneſs with which you received Mr. Vaughan's propoſals, I confeſs I gave you ſome credit for your diſcretion. You had a fair opportunity of diſplaying a certain delicacy, of which you had not been ſuſpected, and you were in the right to make uſe of it. By laying in a moderate ſtock of reputation, you undoubtedly meant to provide for the future

future neceſſities of your character, that, with an honourable reſiſtance upon record, you might ſafely indulge your genius, and yield to a favourite inclination with ſecurity. But you have diſcovered your purpoſes too ſoon, and, inſtead of the modeſt reſerve of virtue, have ſhewn us the termagant chaſtity of a prude, who gratifies her paſſions with diſtinction, and proſecutes one lover for a rape, while ſhe ſolicits the lewd embraces of another.

Your cheek turns pale; for a guilty conſcience tells you, you are undone—Come forward, thou virtuous miniſter, and tell the world by what intereſt Mr. Hine has been recommended to ſo extraordinary a mark of his Majeſty's favour; what was the price of the patent he has bought, and to what honourable purpoſe the purchaſe-money has been applied. Nothing leſs than many thouſands could pay Colonel Burgoyne's expences at Preſton. Do you dare to proſecute ſuch a creature as Vaughan, while you are baſely ſetting up the royal patronage to auction? Do you dare to complain of an attack upon your own honour, while you are ſelling the favours of the crown, to raiſe a fund for corrupting the morals of the people? And do you think it poſſible ſuch enormities ſhould eſcape without impeachment? It is indeed highly your intereſt to maintain the preſent Houſe of Commons. Having ſold the nation to you in groſs, they will undoubtedly protect you in the detail; for while they patronize *your* crimes, they feel for their own.

FINIS.

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††† The letters of ATTICUS, LUCIUS, and JUNIUS, (contained in this pamphlet) may be conſidered as a very proper APPENDIX to the above collection.

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